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THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY
CONCERNING ACTIVITIES AND WILLS IN CHRIST

Serhiy Hovorun
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Ph.D. Thesis
2003

ABSTRACT

The primary purpose of the thesis is to fill the existing gaps in our understanding of various theological and political aspects of the controversy that took place in both Eastern and Western parts of the Roman Empire in the seventh century, the main theological point of which was whether Christ had one or two *energeiai* and wills.

Before coming to any conclusions on this subject, I shall investigate the preliminary forms of Monenergism and Monothelitism *i.e.*, belief in a single *energeia* and will of Christ, which were incorporated in the major Christological systems developed by Apollinarius of Laodicea, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Severus of Antioch (chapters 1-3).

Against this background, it becomes obvious that the Chalcedonian Monenergism and later Monothelitism emerged from the movement of neo-Chalcedonianism. It was an attempt by the political and ecclesiastical authorities to achieve a theological compromise with various non-Chalcedonian groups, mainly Severian, but also 'Nestorian'. Their ultimate goal was to reconcile these groups with the Catholic Church of the Empire (chapter 4).

However, this project of reconciliation on the basis of the single-*energeia* formula was contested by the representatives of the same neo-Chalcedonian tradition and consequently condemned at the Councils of Lateran (649) and Constantinople (680/681). Thus, the same neo-Chalcedonian tradition produced two self-sufficient and antagonistic doctrines. A major concern of the thesis is to expose and compare systematically their doctrinal content *per se* and in the wider context of the principles of neo-Chalcedonianism (chapter 5).

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2003

30 SEP 2004



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DECLARATION

No part of the material offered in this thesis previously has been submitted for a degree in this or in any other university.

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This thesis does not exceed the maximum length allowable by the university.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I would like to express my deep gratitude to Professor Andrew Louth. His supervision allows his students to realise their full potential and skills in a unique atmosphere of creative freedom. At the same time they benefit from his immense erudition, which he combines with a special 'patristic' approach to the Fathers of the Church. This is an approach that the Fathers applied themselves.

I also feel indebted to my Professors at the University of Athens, Stylianos Papadopoulos and Vlasios Pheidas, who taught me to apply the same approach in my studies of the Fathers. Professor Pheidas also suggested the topic of the thesis and gave initial guidelines. I am especially grateful to Bishop Hilarion (Alfeyev) as it he who inspired me to continue my education in Britain.

I also wish to express gratitude to Dr. Sebastian Brock for his elucidating explanation concerning the transmission of the text of ps-Dionysius into the Syriac tradition; to Dr. Richard Sorabji for his invaluable suggestions concerning the philosophical background of the controversy; to Irina Kukota who helped me gain access to some books and to read a Syriac manuscript; and to Magnus Wheeler and Jackie Keirs who undertook strenuous task of proofreading this dissertation. Finally, I would like to thank the *Aid to the Church in Need, St Andrew's Trust* and particularly its former director Daryl Hardman, and the *Church Mission Society* for their financial assistance during my research. Without their support, this thesis would have never been written.

INTRODUCTION

The controversy concerning *energeiai* and wills in Christ was for a long time understudied. It remained a subject of interest for a few scholars only who touched on it occasionally, often in the context of other problems.¹ Only recently a series of researches appeared which dramatically widened our understanding of the controversy in its various aspects.

First, a series of critically edited sources on the theology of the seventh century endowed the scholarship with powerful tools of research. Among the most important of these were the acts of the Lateran (649) and Constantinopolitan (680/681) Councils edited by Rudolf Riedinger², the works of Maximus the Confessor that have been published so far in the series *Corpus*

¹ See Werner Elert, Wilhelm Maurer, and Elisabeth Bergsträsser. *Der Ausgang der altkirchlichen Christologie: eine Untersuchung über Theodor von Pharan und seine Zeit als Einführung in die alte Dogmengeschichte*. Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1957; Siegfried Helmer, *Der Neuchalkedonismus: Geschichte, Berechtigung und Bedeutung eines dogmengeschichtlichen Begriffes*. Bonn: [s.n.], 1962.

² Rudolf Riedinger. *Concilium Lateranense a 649 Celebratum, Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum. Series Secunda*; 1. Berolini: De Gruyter, 1984 (henceforth ACO₂ I); *Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum Tertium: Concilii Actiones I-XI, Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum. Series Secunda*; 2,1. Berolini: De Gruyter, 1990 (henceforth ACO₂ II¹); *Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum Tertium: Concilii Actiones XII-XVIII, Epistulae, Indices, Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum. Series Secunda*; V. 2,2. Berolini: De Gruyter, 1992 (henceforth ACO₂ II²). The same scholar published a series of materials related to the text of the acts and the history of the Councils: 'Die Lateranakten von 649: ein Werk der Byzantiner um Maximus Homologes.' *Byzantina* 13. (Dorema ston I. Karagiannopoulo) (1985); *Die Präsenz- und Subskriptionslisten des VI. Oekumenischen Konzils (680/81) und der Papyrus Vind. G.3, Abhandlungen/Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse; n.F., Heft 85*. München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: In Kommission bei C.H. Beck, 1979; *Lateinische Übersetzungen griechischer Häretikertexte des siebenten Jahrhunderts, Sitzungsberichte/Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse; Bd. 352*. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979; *Kleine Schriften zu den Konzilsakten des 7. Jahrhunderts, Instrumenta patristica*; 34. Steenbrugis; Turnhout: in Abbatia S. Petri: Brepols, 1998.

*Christianorum*¹, as well as biographical materials² related to him, and the writings of Anastasius Sinaita published by Karl-Heinz Uthemann³. Second, the studies of the history and the background of the controversy have dramatically advanced in recent years. Thus, the relatively old but still valuable researches of Garegin Owsepian⁴, Venance Grumel⁵, and Erich Caspar⁶ were significantly enriched by the extensive studies of Jan Louis Van Dieten⁷, Pietro Conte¹, Franz

¹ *Quaestiones ad Thalassium: una cum latina interpretatione Ioannis Scotti Eriugenae iuxta posita, Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*; 7. Turnhout: Brepols, 1980; *Quaestiones et dubia, Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*; 10. Brepols: Turnhout; Leuven: University Press, 1982; *Ambigua ad Iohannem iuxta Iohannis Scotti Eriugenae latinam interpretationem, Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*; 18. Turnhout; Leuven: Brepols: Leuven University Press, 1988; *Opuscula exegetica duo. Expositio in Psalmum LIX. Expositio orationis dominicae, Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*; 23. Turnhout; Leuven: Brepols: Leuven University Press, 1991; *Liber asceticus, Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*; 40. Turnhout; Leuven: Brepols: University Press, 2000; *Ambigua ad Thomam una cum epistula secunda ad eundem, Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*; 48. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002.

² See the Syriac Vita of Maximus published by Sebastian Brock 'An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor.' *Analecta Bollandiana* 41 (1973); see also *Scripta saeculi VII vitam Maximi Confessoris illustrantia, Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*; 39. Turnhout; Leuven: Brepols; University Press, 1999. Pauline Allen and Bronwen Neil. *Maximus the Confessor and his companions: documents from exile, Oxford Early Christian Texts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

³ *Anastasii Sinaitae Viae dux*. Turnhout; [Leuven]: Brepols; University Press, 1981; *Anastasii Sinaitae Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei; necnon opuscula adversus Monotheletas, Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*; 12. Turnhout; [Leuven]: Brepols: Leuven University Press, 1985.

⁴ Garegin Owsepian. *Die Entstehungsgeschichte des Monotheletismus nach ihren Quellen geprüft und dargestellt*. Leipzig, 1897.

⁵ V. Grumel. *Les registres des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*. 2e éd., revue et corrigée (par Jean Darrouzès) ed, *Patriarcat byzantin; Sér. 1*. Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1972.; 'Recherches sur l'histoire de monothélisme.' *Echos d'Orient*, no. 27 (1928); 28 (1929); 29 (1930).

⁶ Erich Caspar. *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1930.

⁷ Jan Louis van Dieten. *Geschichte der griechischen Patriarchen von Konstantinopel, Enzyklopadie der Byzantinistik; Bd.24*. Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert, 1972.

Dölger², and most recently Friedhelm Winkelmann.³ Additionally, the studies on the secular history of Byzantium in the seventh century have advanced dramatically, owing to the work of Andreas Stratos⁴, John Haldon⁵, Walter E. Kaegi⁶ *et al.*⁷

The primary purpose of the present thesis is to fill the existing *lacunae* in our understanding of various theological aspects of the controversy concerning the *energeiai* and wills, given that the scholarship has already achieved a significant success in researching its historical background and its sources.

¹ Pietro Conte. *Chiesa e primato nelle lettere dei papi del secolo VII*, Pubblicazioni dell'Università cattolica del S. Cuore. Saggi e ricerche, Serie III. Scienze storiche, 4. Milano: Editrice Vita e Pensiero, 1971.

² Franz Dölger and Peter Wirth. *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453, Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit. Reihe A, Regesten; Abt. 1.* München: Beck, 1977.

³ Friedhelm Winkelmann. *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit*, Berliner byzantinistische Studien; Bd. 6. Frankfurt am Main; Oxford: P. Lang, 2001. This book is based on an earlier publication of the scholar 'Die Quellen zur Erforschung des monenergetisch-monotheletischen Streites.' *Klio*, no. 69 (1987): 519-59. (Henceforth, both works will be referred to as 'Winkelmann,' with a number of entry following, e.g. 'Winkelmann 3.')

⁴ Andreas Stratos. *Byzantium in the seventh century*. 5 vols. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1968.

⁵ John F Haldon. *Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture*. Rev. ed. Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

⁶ Walter Kaegi. *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002; *Byzantine military unrest, 471-843: an interpretation*. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1981.

⁷ See, for instance, Helga Köpstein and Friedhelm Winkelmann. *Studien zum 7. Jahrhundert in Byzanz: Probleme der Herausbildung des Feudalismus*, Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten; Bd. 47. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1976; Wolfram Brandes. *Die Städte Kleinasien im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert*, Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten; Bd. 56. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1989; Hans Ditten. *Ethnische Verschiebungen zwischen der Balkanhalbinsel und Kleinasien vom Ende des 6. bis zur zweiten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts*, Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten; Bd. 59. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993; G. J. Reinink and Bernard Stolte. *The Reign of Heraclius (610-641): Crisis and Confrontation*, Groningen Studies in Cultural Change. Leuven: Peeters, 2002.

Among the main concerns of the dissertation is to reconstruct the doctrinal systems of Monenergism-Monothelitism and Dyenergism-Dyothelitism, of course as far as these doctrines constituted a system. The two doctrines will be analysed in the coordinates of the notions of hypostasis, nature, natural property, *energeia*, and will, which constituted the framework of theological disputes in the seventh century. Inquiry into the relations between these notions will help us to understand better the differences and similarities between the two rival doctrines. The writings of the major participants in the controversy will be considered in this framework, in particular of Theodore of Pharan, Pope Honorius, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Cyrus of Alexandria, and Macarius of Antioch among the Monenergists-Monothelites, as well as Sophronius of Jerusalem, Maximus the Confessor, the Popes John, Theodore, Martin, and Agatho and additionally Anastasius of Sinai as the major representatives of the Dyenergist-Dyothelite party.

The main figure among the Dyothelite theologians was undoubtedly Maximus. However, his theological contribution will not be presented separately, but as an integral part of the response of the Church to the challenge of Monenergism-Monothelitism. I believe it could be misleading to consider Maximus as a self-sufficient theologian or thinker isolated from the context of the Monenergist-Monothelite controversy. The best of his Christological writings were composed in response to the challenge of Monenergism-Monothelitism and constituted only a part, though a very important part, of a

major polemical campaign. Therefore, I agree with Andrew Louth who remarks: 'Although Maximus the Confessor is a speculative theologian of genius, he does not see himself, as would some later theologians, as *constructing* a theological system. He sees himself as interpreting a tradition that has come down to him, and interpreting it for the sake of others.'¹

At the same time, I will be considering the theology of Anastasius Sinaita separately from the rest of the Dyenergist-Dyothelite writings. Firstly, because he did not immediately participate in the controversy, and secondly, because his theological heritage remains virtually unresearched. I intend therefore to complete this omission by devoting a separate chapter to his theology.

Together with the inquiry into the content of the issue of the *energeia* and will, I will try to locate its place in the general history of Christology, having as an ultimate aim to show that the issue was not one of secondary importance, but actually one of the major challenges that the Christological doctrine faced in its history. I will also try to show that both Monenergism-Monothelitism and Dyenergism-Dyothelitism, in spite of their antagonism, had the same neo-Chalcedonian origin. Monenergism-Monothelitism, in particular, was developed as an attempt to find a compromise with the Severan tradition, an important feature of which was a belief in a single *energeia* of Christ. Severan Monenergism, however, was not the first Monenergism to have existed, but was

¹ Andrew Louth. *Maximus the Confessor*. London; New York: Routledge, 1996, 21.

preceded by other Monenergisms, which were developed within traditions linked to Apollinarius of Laodicea and Theodore of Mopsuestia. One of the tasks of the present thesis is to describe these kinds of Monenergism and to establish what they had in common with the 'imperial' or Chalcedonian Monenergism.

Although the latter was created within the framework of neo-Chalcedonianism, it was contested and consequently rejected by the representatives of the same neo-Chalcedonian tradition. This revealed an internal crisis besetting the tradition in the seventh century. This crisis, however, did not eventually lead to a blurring of the principles of neo-Chalcedonianism, but on the contrary to a more precise definition of its boundaries and to its *catharsis*.

1. FOUR MAIN KINDS OF MONENERGISM-MONOTHELITISM

Before proceeding to an examination of the history and the doctrinal content of Monenergism and Monothelitism, it should be established whether they were two separate and self-sufficient doctrines or different aspects of the same theological perception of Christ. In the period before the seventh century, as this will be shown in the following chapters, the two doctrines always occurred together, though Monenergism normally dominated over Monothelitism. So it was also in the seventh century, with the only difference that after 638, when the *Ecthesis* was promulgated, Monothelitism was brought to the forefront and Monenergism receded into the background.

Indeed, during the controversy concerning *energeiai* and wills in Christ in the seventh century, historically Monenergism preceded Monothelitism.¹ The imperial civil and ecclesiastic authorities initially recruited it as a means of reconciliation with the non-Chalcedonians. Monenergism turned out to be, as A. Louth characterized it, 'one of the most celebrated "ecumenical" ventures of the early Byzantine period.'² The reason for this was the dominating role that the issue of the single *energeia* played in the non-Chalcedonian confessions. Only when the imperial unionist initiatives faced energetic resistance from certain circles within the Church, was Monenergism pushed into the

¹ See, for instance, Βλάσιος Φειδᾶς. *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία Α'*. 2^η έκδοση. Αθήνα, 1995, 736.

² Andrew Louth. *St. John Damascene: tradition and originality in Byzantine theology, Oxford early Christian studies*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, 153.

background, and in 638 Monothelitism emerged instead of it. Before that, Monothelitism had existed in embryo within Monenergism. Thus, as early as 626 Patriarch Sergius wrote in his letter to Cyrus of Phasis about a single will, together with a single *energeia*.¹ Another early Monenergist document, the *Psephos*, implied a single will in Christ as well. Its authors refused to recognize in Christ two *energeiai* because the latter would presuppose two wills.² One may ask here why Monothelitism was not initially promoted explicitly together with Monenergism. Apparently, the authors of the Monenergist project of reconciliation deliberately limited themselves to Monenergism alone because otherwise there would have been more protests from the Chalcedonians, endangering the whole project. In addition, the issue of *energeiai* proved to be of greater importance to the Monophysites than that of wills.

When Monenergism was abandoned and Monothelitism emerged instead, the issue of the single *energeia* was often implied in Monothelite documents. In particular, it occurred in one of the earliest texts containing the Monothelite confession, the *Ecthesis*.³ The only known case, when Monothelitism was combined with Dyenergism was that of Constantine of Apamea, which was examined at the sixth ecumenical Council. However, as we shall see later, Constantine put these two doctrines together rather

¹ ACO₂ II² 528¹⁵⁻¹⁹.

² ACO₂ II² 542¹³.

³ See ACO₂ I 160⁴⁻¹⁹.

mechanically, and the sort of Monothelitism that he confessed, in effect presupposed Monenergism. Now it is possible to come to a preliminary conclusion that Monenergism and Monothelitism, whatever historical shapes they took, were not two separate teachings, but one solid doctrine. In the present thesis, therefore, I will be calling this doctrine 'Monenergist-Monothelite' or 'Monenergism-Monothelitism' and treat it as a single whole.

The close link between the issues of *energeia* and will in Christ was also valid for the Orthodox opponents to Monenergism-Monothelitism. Dyenergism, which they defended in the first stages of the controversy, had always presupposed Dyothelitism and *vice versa*. Therefore, at the Councils of Lateran (649) and Constantinople (680/681), the issues of *energeiai* and wills were given equal attention and Monenergism was disclaimed together with Monothelitism. So, it seems appropriate that I should consider the Orthodox beliefs concerning *energeiai* and wills in Christ as a single doctrine and call it 'Dyenergist-Dyothelite' or 'Dyenergism-Dyothelitism.'

The doctrine of Monenergism-Monothelitism as it was discussed in the seventh century did not emerge from nowhere. It was preceded by a series of other Monenergisms-Monothelitisms, which although not self-standing doctrines, were integral parts of major Christological systems.¹ There are at least four kinds of the Monenergist-Monothelite doctrines promoting a single *energeia*

¹ As B. Pheidas remarks, 'Ο Μονοθελητισμός καί Μονοενεργητισμός ... ἐνυπάρχουν μέ τή μία ἢ τήν ἄλλη μορφή σέ ὅλες τίς μεγάλες αἰρέσεις τοῦ Δ' καί Ε' αἰώνα.' *Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἱστορία* Α' 728.

and will emphatically and based on general principles of the major Christological systems.¹ The first was established at the beginning of the epoch of Christological controversies. Its author was **Apollinarius**, who put Christological problems on the agenda of Christian theology. **Antiochian** theologians, among whom the most famous were Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius, developed, in opposition to Apollinarius, their own Christology with its own specific sort of Monenergism-Monothelitism. The **Alexandrian** tradition, of which the chief representative was Severus of Antioch, produced its own picture of single *energeia* and will, contrasting it to the Nestorian one. For Severus and his followers, the issue of single *energeia* became more important than it was for the Nestorians and turned out to be a crucial point of Severan perception of Christ.² Some lesser subdivisions of the Monenergist-Monothelite doctrine emerged within the Monophysite movement. They fitted the doctrinal variations developed in such anti-Chalcedonian groups as Julianists, Agnoetes *etc.* Finally, in the seventh century a new sort of Monenergism-Monothelitism emerged from the **neo-Chalcedonian** or **Cyrrillian** interpretation of Christological doctrine.³ Paradoxically, Dyenergism-

¹ I will not discuss Monenergism which is implied in Arianism, because it has not produced a self-sufficient Christological doctrine.

² See B. Pheidias: "Όλοι οι μονοφυσίτες ήσαν τόσο μονοθελήτες, όσο και μονοενεργήτες." *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία Α'* 727.

³ Scholars chiefly accept that Monenergism-Monothelitism was a product of 'Cyrrillian Chalcedonianism.' See Charles Moeller: 'le monoénergisme et le monothélisme ne viennent pas d'un Monophysitisme extrémiste, mais du néo-chalcédonisme.' 'Le Chalcédonisme et le néo-chalcédonisme en Orient de 451 à la fin du VIe siècle.' In Aloys Grillmeier and Heinrich Bacht.

Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart; im Auftrag der Theologischen Fakultät S.J. Sankt Georgen, Frankfurt/Main. Würzburg: Echter, v. I, 1951, 695 n. 167; J. Pelikan: 'Unlike the "Nestorian" and "Monophysite" teachings, the new ideas and formulas (= those of Monenergism and Monothelitism) that provoked controversy were propagated chiefly within the ranks of the orthodox and within the boundaries of the empire.' *The Christian tradition: a history of the development of doctrine.* Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, I, 1971, 62; F. Winkelmann: 'in der Auseinandersetzung kämpften nicht Orthodoxe gegen Monophysiten, sondern es handelte sich um einen Streit über ein christologisches Problem, der unter Theologen ausgetragen wurde, die sich zum Chalkedonense bekannten.' Winkelmann 14; A. Louth: 'Monenergism – and later Monothelitism – was devised as a refinement of Cyrilline Chalcedonian Christology.' *Maximus* 56; see also Lars Thunberg. 'Microcosm and Mediator: The Theological Anthropology of Maximus the Confessor.' Thesis-Uppsala, C. W. K. Gleerup, 1965, 40-41; Joseph Farrell. *Free Choice in St. Maximus the Confessor.* South Canan, Pa.: St. Tikhon's Seminary Press, 1989, 71; finally, K.-H. Uthemann dedicated to this question special research: 'Der Neuchalkedonismus als Vorbereitung des Monothelitismus: Ein Beitrag zum eigentlichen Anliegen des Neuchalkedonismus.' *Studia Patristica* 29 (1997): 373-413; see also his article 'Sergios I,' *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon (BBKL)* http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/s/s2/sergios_i.shtml [29/05/2003].

The notion of 'neo-Chalcedonianism' was originally introduced by J. Lebon. He distinguished a group of sixth century Chaldenonian theologians who often referred to the theology of Cyril of Alexandria and tried to interpret it in the context of Chalcedon (Joseph Lebon. *Le monophysisme Sévérien: étude historique, littéraire et théologique sur la résistance monophysite au Concile de Chalcédoine jusqu'à la constitution de l'Église jacobite, Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis. Dissertationes ad gradum doctoris in facultate theologica consequendum conscriptae. Series 2; Tomus 4. Lovanii: J. Van Linthout, 1909*). The ideas of Lebon were developed further by Charles Moeller. *Un Représentant de la christologie néochalcédonienne au début du sixième siècle en orient: Nephalius d'Alexandrie*, 1944, 73-140; 'Le chalcédonisme' 637-720). Later M. Richard redefined the features of neo-Chalcedonianism and enumerated among them the usage of Cyrilian formula 'one incarnate nature of the God Logos' and Τῷ ὁ σαυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς inserted (Marcel Richard. 'Le néo-chalcédonisme.' *Mélanges de science religieuse* 3 (1946), 159). This definition was later accepted by Moeller who went further and affirmed that a specific characteristic of neo-Chalcedonianism was the appropriation of both two natures and one nature formulas ('Le chalcédonisme' 666). Referring to Leontius of Jerusalem, Moeller suggested that the other characteristic feature of neo-Chalcedonianism was that the qualities of the human nature in Christ subsisted in the hypostasis ('Textes "Monophysites" de Léonce de Jérusalem.' *Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses* 27 (1951), 471 ff). Later some scholars added that the 'neo-Chalcedonian theology understood hypostatic union as "synthetic" union, and that it stressed that this union is *ex duabus naturis* as much as it is *in duabus naturis*.' Thunberg, *Microcosm* 38; see also P. Galtier. 'L'Occident et le néo-chalcédonisme.' *Gregorianum* 40 (1959), 55, and Hans Urs von Balthasar. *Kosmische Liturgie: das Weltbild Maximus' des Bekenners.* Zweite, völl. ver. Aufl ed. [Einsiedeln, Switz.]: Johannes-Verlag, 1961, 242 n. 4. See about neo-Chalcedonianism in general: Patrick Gray. *The defense of Chalcedon in the East (451-553), Studies in the history of Christian thought; v. 20.* Leiden: Brill, 1979; 'Neo-Chalcedonism and the Tradition: From Patristic to Byzantine Theology.' *Byzantinische Forschungen* 16 (1982), 61-70; Alois Grillmeier. 'Vorbereitung des Mittelalters. Eine Studie über das Verhältnis von Chalkedonismus und Neu-Chalkedonismus in der lateinischen Theologie von Boethius bis zu Gregor dem Großen.' In *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, edited by Alois Grillmeier and Heinrich Bacht, 791-839. Würzburg: Echter, 1953; 'Der Neu-Chalkedonismus. Um die Berechtigung eines neuen Kapitels in der Dogmengeschichte.' *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft* 77 (1958): 151-160; 'Das östliche und das westliche Christusbild. Zu einer Studie

Dyothelitism, which was opposite to Monenergism-Monothelitism, arose also from neo-Chalcedonianism.¹ The present research is concerned to show that both teachings had the same neo-Chalcedonian background and to clarify what they had in common and in what they differed. The fact that two antagonistic doctrines emerged from the same tradition of neo-Chalcedonianism, means that in the beginning of the seventh century the latter was undergoing an internal crisis.² However, that Monenergism-Monothelitism appeared within neo-Chalcedonianism, did not question the legitimacy of this tradition as such. Nobody from the Dyenergist-Dyothelite camp doubted or criticized either

über den Neuchalcedonismus.' *Theologie und Philosophie* 59 (1984): 84-96; S. Helmer, *Der Neuchalkedonismus*; Lorenzo Perrone. *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche: dal Concilio di Efeso (431) al secondo Concilio di Costantinopoli (553), Testi e ricerche di scienze religiose (Istituto per le scienze religiose di Bologna)*; 18. Brescia: Paideia, 1980.

¹ See, for instance, the fifth anathematism of the Lateran Council: 'Εἰ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς μίαν φύσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένην διὰ τοῦ 'σεσαρκωμένην' εἰπεῖν τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οὐσίας ἐντελῶς ἐν αὐτῷ Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἀπαρλείπτως μόνης δίχα τῆς ἁμαρτίας σημαίνειν, εἴη κατάκριτος.' ACO₂ I 372¹⁻⁸. ('Si quis secundum sanctos patres non confitetur propriae et secundum ueritatem unam naturam Dei Verbi incarnatam per hoc quod 'incarnatam' dicitur nostra substantia perfecte in Christo Deo et indimminute absque tantummodo peccato significata, condemnatus sit.' ACO₂ I 373¹⁻⁷). Cyril of Alexandria was the most quoted author by both Dyenergist-Dyothelite Councils. In the acts of the Lateran Council, he was cited 66 times, and in the acts of the sixth ecumenical Council 42 times. Concerning the roots of Maximus the Confessor's position in the controversy, A. Louth remarks: 'It is important to realize how much he (= Maximus) took for granted the Cyrilline Chalcedonianism he inherited: his opposition to Monothelitism is worked out within this tradition, not as a criticism of that tradition. He is wholly committed to the Alexandrian understanding of the Incarnation as the Son of God's assuming a human nature and living a human life, with its corollary in the validity of theopaschite language.' *Maximus* 27-28. See also J. Farrell: 'St. Maximus stands firmly within the Neo-Chalcedonian, or Cyrillic Chalcedonian, tradition of Christology.' *Free Choice* 23.

² As J. Farrell remarks, 'the whole controversy between the Byzantine Monothelites and Dyothelites must be interpreted as a conflict between two significant and quite opposed parties within Cyrillic Chalcedonianism itself.' *Free choice* 71.

Cyril¹ or the even more ambiguous ps.-Dionysius with his rather Monenergist formula ‘a certain theandric *energeia*.’ The way of interpretation of Chalcedon by employing the language of Cyril remained the basis of the Dyenergist-Dyothelite polemics against Monenergism-Monothelitism. The crisis led to a more precise understanding of what is allowed within neo-Chalcedonianism and what exceeds its boundaries. Monenergism-Monothelitism was born within neo-Chalcedonianism, but eventually stepped beyond its limits, and as a result was rejected by the other neo-Chalcedonians – the Dyenergites-Dythelites.

Apparently, the neo-Chalcedonian Monenergism-Monothelitism would never have emerged if other sorts of *Msms-Msms*, particularly the Monophysite one, did not exist. Therefore, I shall thoroughly investigate it and its predecessors, Apollinarian and Nestorian Monenergism-Monothelitism.

¹ In this regard, it would be sufficient to mention the evaluation provided by Sophronius: ‘Δεχόμεθα δὲ καὶ ἀγκάλαις ταῖς αὐταῖς καὶ ἀσμενίζομεν καὶ πάντα τοῦ θεοπεσίου Κυρίλλου τὰ θεῖα τε καὶ θεόσοφα συγγράμματα, ὡς πάσης ὀρθότητος γέμοντα καὶ πᾶσαν αἰρετικῶν καθαιροῦντα δυσσέβειαν.’ ACO₂ II¹ 472¹⁵⁻¹⁷, and by Pope Martin at the Lateran: ‘Ἀκουσόμεθα καὶ πάλιν τοῦ μακαρίου Κυρίλλου διδάσκοντος περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν ὅλως ἡρνησθαι πλὴν τῆς ἁμαρτίας τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τῶν τῆς ἐνωθείσης αὐτῷ καθ’ ὑπόστασιν ἐμψύχου καὶ παναγίας σαρκὸς φυσικῶν ἰδιωμάτων, ἀλλ’ ἐν πείρᾳ πάντως ἐκουσίως γενέσθαι διὰ τὴν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν.’ ACO₂ I 358²⁸⁻³². (‘Audiamus ergo iterum eundem beatum Cyrillum haec prudentissime praedicantem, ut nihil omnino negetur de nostrae naturae unitis in eo substantialibus proprietatibus, sed per omnia temptatum sponte propter nostram salutem absque tantummodo peccato Dominum et Deum nostrum Iesum Christum.’ ACO₂ I 359²⁸⁻³¹). As for Maximus, L. Thunberg remarks: ‘As an authority Cyril of Alexandria plays a rather outstanding role in Maximus’ writings.’ *Microcosm* 40.

2. PRE-CHALCEDONIAN MONENERGISM-MONOTHELITISM

2.1. APOLLINARIUS OF LAODICEA

Apollinarius of Laodicea (d. ca 392)¹ developed a specific doctrine of the Incarnation, which became a prologue to the long-lasting period of the Christological controversies and had echoes as late as in the seventh century's Monenergism-Monothelitism. Apollinarius struggled to give his own interpretation to the way of unity of the Godhead and the humanity in Christ, opposing it mainly to Adoptionism, with its conception of the indwelling of the Logos in a man.² To him, the idea of adoption or indwelling did not reflect sufficiently the unity and integrity of the Godhead and the humanity in Christ. In order to emphasize this unity, Apollinarius presented the Incarnation as the integration of the Logos and an animated flesh. The flesh assumed by Christ, on its own, is not a complete humanity yet, lacking as it does a νοῦς/πνεῦμα. Owing to this, Christ remains a single and integral entity. Both the animated

¹ See on account of his life and theology: Guillaume Voisin. *L'apollinarisme: étude historique, littéraire et dogmatique sur le début des controverses christologiques au IV^e siècle*. Paris: A. Fontemoing, 1901; Hans Lietzmann. *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule: Texte und Untersuchungen*. Tübingen: Teubner, 1904; Charles Raven. *Apollinarianism: an essay on the Christology of the early Church*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923; H. de Riedmatten, 'Some neglected aspects of Apollinarian Christology.' *DomStud* 1 (1948): 239-260; 'La christologie d'Apollinaire de Laodicée.' *Studia Patristica* 2 (1957): 208-234; 'La correspondance entre Basile de Césarée et Apollinaire de Laodicée.' *Journal of Theological Studies* 7, 8 (1956, 1957); 'Sur les notions doctrinales opposées à Apollinaire.' *Revue thomiste* 51 (1951): 553-572; George Prestige and Henry Chadwick. *St Basil the Great and Apollinaris of Laodicea*. London: SPCK, 1956; Richard Norris. *Manhood and Christ: a study in the Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.

² See, for instance, Lietzmann, *Apollinaris* fr. 186 p. 318¹⁷⁻²⁴.

flesh and the Logos are for Apollinarius parts of the single nature of Christ. These parts, however, should not be considered as equal. The divine part dominates the human one. It is the life-giving spirit; the whole life of Christ is concentrated in it. It is the only and self-sufficient source of movement and activity in Christ: 'The divine intellect is αὐτοκίνητος and ταυτοκίνητος.'¹ The animated flesh, on the contrary, is passively subordinated to the Godhead. It does not move by itself, but is being constantly moved and led by the Godhead: 'The flesh is always moved by him who moves and leads.'² The animated flesh and the Godhead together constitute a perfect unity of a passive and a dynamic component supplementary to each other. This supplementarity of Christ's 'elements' makes him a single and complete being:

It (= the flesh) was adopted (ἐξουκειωθεῖσα) by him (= the heavenly ruler) according to its passibility (κατὰ τὸ παθητικόν) and received the divine (Logos), who indwelt in it, according to the activity (κατὰ τὸ ἐνεργητικόν). Therefore, he was a single living being (ἐν ζῶον) composed of what is moved and what moves (ἐκ κινουμένου καὶ κινητικοῦ), but not two (beings), neither (was he composed) of two perfect and self-moving (entities).³

Therefore, the *energeia* of Christ for Apollinarius could be only one, and it is divine. It is exclusively provided by the Logos:

In him is confessed ... a nature which is made up of two parts, as the Logos with his divine perfection contributes a natural activity to the whole (μερικὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ τοῦ Λόγου συντελέσαντος εἰς τὸ ὅλον μετὰ τῆς θεϊκῆς

¹ *adLulian*, Lietzmann, *Apollinaris* fr. 151 p. 247³⁰-248¹.

² 'Ἡ σὰρξ ἑτεροκίνητος οὐσα πάντως ὑπὸ τοῦ κινούντος καὶ ἄγοντος.' Lietzmann' *Apollinaris* fr. 107 p. 232¹⁰⁻¹¹.

³ Lietzmann, *Apollinaris* fr. 107 p. 232¹⁴⁻¹⁸.

τελειότητος). This is also the case with ordinary man, who is made up of two incomplete parts, which produce one nature and display it under one name.¹

The humanity of Christ participates in the divine *energeia*, because it is totally subjected to the Godhead:

For the human (*energeia*) takes part (μετέχει) in the divine *energeia*, as far as can reach (it), being lesser than what is the greatest. Also, man is a slave of God, and God is not a slave of man, nor of himself. Also, the former is a creature of God, while the latter is not a creature of man nor of himself.²

Apollinarius made a distinction between the divine *energeia* and the human 'movements' (σαρκικαὶ κινήσεις) of Christ. The former is pure and sinless, whereas the latter are weak, passive, and can be subjected to sin, sufferings, and death. Apollinarius avoided speaking of the activities of the flesh as *energeiai*. To him, they were merely movements (κινήσεις):

For God, enfleshed in human flesh, retains his own proper operation unsullied (καθαράν ἔχει τὴν ἰδίαν ἐνέργειαν). He is Intellect unconquered by psychic and fleshly passions (νοῦς ἀήττητος ὦν τῶν ψυχικῶν καὶ σαρκικῶν παθημάτων), and he guides the flesh and the motions of the flesh (τὰς σαρκικὰς κινήσεις) divinely and sinlessly; and not only is he unmastered by death, but he is also the looser of death.³

Energeia of Christ is single on the level of the spirit. However, having been passed through the prism of the flesh, it disperses as a multiplicity of particular actions. Gregory of Nyssa quotes this point of Apollinarius:

...Distinguishing (διαχωρῶν) the operation according to the flesh and making it equal to one (ἐξισῶν) according to the spirit.

¹ *deUnioneCorp*, Lietzmann, *Apollinarius* p. 187⁵⁻¹¹.

² Lietzmann, *Apollinarius* fr. 130 p. 239⁶⁻¹⁰.

³ *FidesSecPart*, Lietzmann, *Apollinarius* p. 178¹³⁻¹⁷/transl. R. Norris
<http://divinity.library.vanderbilt.edu/burns/3224/apollinarius.htm> [24/07/2003].

He says, he who is equal in power (ἐν δυνάμει ἰσότητα) has distinction of operations with regard to the flesh (κατὰ σάρκα τῆς ἐνεργείας διαίρεσιν) according to which he has vivified not all but those whom he wished.¹

Thus, the *energeia* of the flesh, in comparison with the activity of the Godhead, is not *energeia*, but a passive movement caused by the divinity. This becomes clearer when a general Apollinarian conception of the unity of Christ is taken into consideration. According to this conception, the unity is not static, but dynamic and lively (ἐνότης ζωτική).² Christ is one because he has one life and one power, which proceeds from the Godhead and imbues the humanity.³ Apollinarius identifies this life of Christ with the *energeia*. Thus, the *energeia* is not just an activity, but also a life-giving power of the Godhead. Therefore, the human actions of Christ cannot be called *energeiai*, but merely 'movements.' Apollinarius went further and asserted that the *energeia* of the Logos substituted his human soul and mind.⁴ Thus, the notion of *energeia* became crucial for the whole system of Apollinarius.

¹ *advApol* 3.1.176⁴⁻⁵, 10-13, in Lietzmann, *Apollinaris* fr. 59, 60 pp. 217³⁰⁻³¹, 218³⁻⁵/modified transl. by Richard McCambly <http://www.bhsu.edu/artssciences/asfaculty/dsalomon/nyssa/appolin.html> [24/07/2003].

² Lietzmann, *Apollinaris* fr. 144 p. 242⁴. The dynamic aspect of Christ's unity was firstly underlined by H. de Riedmatten, 'Some neglected' 239-260; 'La christologie' 208-234.

³ See: 'Ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς μίαν ζωὴν τοῦ Λόγου καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς εὐαγγελιζόμενος "ὁ Λόγος", φησὶ, "σὰρξ ἐγένετο".' *deFideInc*, Lietzmann, *Apollinaris* p. 198¹⁶⁻¹⁷. Also, when interpreting the 1 Cor 15, 45 ('the first man, Adam, became a living being; the last Adam became a life-giving spirit'), Apollinarius ascribed to Christ only one life, and this life is that of the Godhead (see *adDion I*, Lietzmann, *Apollinaris* p. 261².)

⁴ 'Ἀναπληρώσεως τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς τόπον καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου νοός.' *deUnione*, Lietzmann, *Apollinaris* fr. 2 p. 204⁷⁻⁹.

Another important point in the system of Apollinarius was the conception of will. Christ has only one will, as well as one nature and one *energeia*:

For this reason, we confess single Christ; and, because he is single, we worship his single nature, will, and *energeia*, which is preserved equally in the miracles and the passions (θαύμασιν ὁμοῦ καὶ παθήμασι σώζουσιν).¹

The will is divine:

But they are troubled with the trouble of the unbelievers and do not remember that this will is said to be not a proper (will) of a man who is of the earth, as they think, but of God who has descended from heaven (see 1 Cor 15, 47); it (= the will) was adopted for his unity (τὸ εἰς ἔνωσιν αὐτοῦ προσειλημμένον).²

The will is single and divine because it is closely linked to the single and divine *nous*. The *nous* has an absolute control over the volitional faculty. It is the only subject of willing. The will and its subject are so closely linked to each other that there is no gap between them. Two wills would introduce two subjects of willing, which is unacceptable:

For if every intellect rules over (πᾶς νοῦς αὐτοκράτωρ) his own will (ἰδικῶ θελήματι), being moved according to nature, then it is impossible for two (subjects) who will what is opposite to one another (δύο τοὺς τάναντία θέλοντας ἀλλήλοις), to coexist in one and the same subject (ἐν ἐνὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ὑποκειμένῳ... συνυπάρχειν); for each one would do what is a desirable to it, according to a self-moved impulse (ἐκατέρου τὸ θεληθὲν ἑαυτῷ καθ' ὁρμὴν αὐτοκίνητον ἐνεργοῦντος).³

¹ *adLulian*, Lietzmann, *Apollinarius* fr. 151 p. 248⁵⁻⁷.

² Lietzmann, *Apollinarius* fr. 63 p. 218²⁰⁻²⁴.

³ *adLulian*, Lietzmann, *Apollinarius* fr. 150 p. 247²³⁻²⁷. See also: 'Ἀδύνατον γὰρ δύο νοερά καὶ θελητικά ἐν τῷ ᾧμα κατοικεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τὸ ἕτερον κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀναστρατεύηται διὰ τῆς οἰκείας θελήσεως καὶ ἐνεργείας.' *deUnione*, Lietzmann, *Apollinarius* fr. 2 p. 204¹¹⁻¹⁴. The statement was reproduced by the disciples of Apollinarius. For instance, a member of his school, Vitalis, wrote in his epistle to Timotheus: 'Ὁ δύο θελήματα λέγων Χριστοῦ κατὰ τοὺς πάλαι καὶ νῦν φυσσωμένους ἢ τὸν ἕνα δύο εἰσάγει Χριστοὺς ἀλλήλων οὐ φύσει

Apollinarius believed that two wills would necessarily introduce two willing subjects, which, in their own turn, would necessarily wish things opposite to each other. Thus, Apollinarius *a priori* rejected two wills, as well as the possibility for them to have one subject and function in accordance with each other. This statement was insistently repeated by all later generations of Monothelites.

2.2. ANTIOCHIAN TRADITION

Within the framework of the 'Antiochian' theology, another specific kind of Monenergism-Monothelitism was developed. The main contribution to this development was made by Theodore of Mopsuestia (c. 350 – 428/429)¹, who constructed his theology in opposition chiefly to Arianism and Apollinarianism. In particular, he criticized the presuppositions explored by Apollinarius, which A. Grillmeier characterizes as a Λόγος-σάρξ framework. This framework, according to the scholar, means the 'vital, dynamic influence of the Logos on the flesh of Christ. Within the Λόγος-σάρξ framework, this stoic idea of the Logos as ἡγεμών is far more decisive than the oversight of the soul of Christ. It is, in

μόνον, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ἀπεχθεία διηρημένους, ἢ τὸν ἑαυτὸν ἑαυτῷ διδάσκει μαχόμενον. ἔνθα γὰρ дуάς, πάντως διαίρεσις.' Lietzmann, *Apollinaris* fr. 175 p. 275²²⁻²⁶.

¹ See on account of his life and works an article of K.-G. Wesseling in the *BBKI* http://www.bautz.de/bbki/t/theodor_v_mo.shtml [13/10/2002], in which also extensive bibliography. Unfortunately, the scholarship has not paid proper attention to the issue of Monenergism and Monothelitism in the Theodorian tradition so far. The topic is also mostly ignored in the theological discussions held between the Churches of the East and the West (see, for instance, *Syriac Dialogue* sponsored by *Pro Oriente*).

fact, the real source from which the whole pattern of a christology without a soul of Christ (whether as a theological or a physical factor) has developed.’¹ In opposition to this framework, Theodore developed a framework Λόγος-ἄνθρωπος.² His main concern here was the completeness of humanity in Christ. In order to defend this completeness, Theodore accentuated the distinction between the two natures in Christ. In developing the distinction, he drew a picture of Christ who is composed of two independent entities: the Logos and the man. In other words, the two natures of Christ were given a concrete existence. To clarify his conception, Theodore applied to Christ the language of indwelling and assumption: the Logos indwelt in a man³ and a whole man was assumed by the Logos⁴.

Theodore developed his conception of indwelling and assumption in contrast to Apollinarius’ views that the Logos substituted for the human *nous* in Christ. Theodore indicated various negative consequences of these views,

¹ Alois Grillmeier. *Christ in Christian tradition*. 2nd revised. London: Mowbrays, 1975 I 426.

² Grillmeier, *Christ* I 428-439.

³ See in *Psal* 44^{9a}: ‘Σμύρνα ... ἀπὸ τῶν ἱματίων σου. Ἰμάτιον αὐτοῦ καλῶς ἐκάλεσε τὸ σῶμα, ὅπερ ἔξωθεν ἦν περικείμενον, ἔνδον οὐσης τῆς θεότητος κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως λόγον.’ Also in the 7th *Catechetical homily*: ‘He became man, they (= the 318 Fathers) said. And it was not through a simple providence that he lowered himself, nor was it through the gift of powerful help, as he has done so often and still (does). Rather did he take our very nature; he clothed himself with it and dwelt in it so as to make it perfect through sufferings; and he united himself with it.’ *HomCatech* 161/Grillmeier, *Christ* I 429.

⁴ See the fifth *Catechetical homily*: ‘Our holy Fathers also said “who was incarnate” so that you would understand that it was a perfect man that he took ... And he took not only a body, but the whole man, composed of a body and an immortal and rational soul. He assumed him for our salvation and through him he won salvation for our life.’ *HomCatech* 5, 127/Grillmeier, *Christ* I 427.

including the elimination of Christ's human activities *e.g.* hunger, thirst, and tiredness. One of Theodore's major concerns was to defend the reality and fullness of human faculties in Christ, including his human activities and wills.

For instance, he wrote in his fifth *Catechetical homily*:

Consequently, if the divinity takes the place of the soul, it (= the body of Christ) had neither hunger, nor thirst, nor was it tired, nor did it have need of food.¹

There are two sources of actions in Christ: one is the Logos and the other is the man. The two natures co-operate with each other:

Moreover (the divine Son) furnished his co-operation in the proposed works to the one who was assumed. (Now) where does this (co-operation) entail that the Deity had replaced the (human) nous in him who was assumed? For it was not his wont to take the place of the nous in any, whoever they were, to whom he accorded his cooperation. And if moreover he accorded to the one who was assumed an extraordinary co-operation, this does not mean (either) that the Deity took the place of the nous. But suppose, as you would have it, that the Deity took the role of the nous in him who was assumed. How was he affected with fear in his suffering? Why, in the face of immediate need, did he stand in want of vehement prayers—prayers which, as the blessed Paul says, he brought before God with a loud and clamorous voice and with many tears? How was he seized of such immense fear that he gave forth fountains of sweat by reason of his great terror?²

He also applied to the humanity of Christ an ability to will:

With indissoluble love he formed himself according to the good, receiving also the co-operation of God the Word in proportion to his own choice of the good... He held fast to this way by his own will, while on the other hand this choice was made secure in him by the co-operating work of God the Word.³

Thus, as A. Grillmeier remarks, in the theology of Theodore 'the human nature of Christ regains its real physical-human inner life and its capacity for

¹ *HomCatech* 5, 112/Norris, *Manhood* 150.

² *inPaul* (Swete 2, 315)/A. Grillmeier, *Christ* I, 428.

³ *deIncarn* 7, fr. 3.

action.¹ Theodore ascribed to each nature a capacity to act and will. Yet, he preferred to speak of a single common *energeia* and will in Christ.² His conception of a single *energeia* and will can be better comprehended through his understanding of the notion of *prosopon*, as this may be seen in the following passage:

The idea of unity according to the essence (κατ' οὐσίαν) is true only if applied to (the beings) of the same essence, but is wrong if applied to (the beings) of different essences; otherwise it (= the idea) could not be free from confusion. At the same time, the way of unity according to benevolence (κατ' εὐδοκίαν), while preserving natures unconfused and undivided, indicates a single person of both, as well as a single will and *energeia* which are followed by a single power and dominion.³

The notions of activity and will are put here on the same level as the notion of πρόσωπον. The latter will help us to explain the former. In the *Commentary on John*, the theologian interpreted Rom 7 (in which Paul speaks about a man who feels himself subjected simultaneously to the law of God and to the law of sin) and remarked that the Apostle refers to two different entities. He unites, however, these entities using a common point of reference – the pronoun 'I' (ἐγώ). Theodore applied to Christ what Paul says about himself. Thus, the two natures are united in the single 'I' of Christ, which signifies his 'common person': 'So our Lord, when he spoke of his manhood and his

¹ *Christ I*, 427.

² See, for example: 'Θέλω, καθαρίσθητι πρὸς τὸν λεπρὸν εἰπὼν ὁ Σωτὴρ ἔδειξε μίαν εἶναι τὴν θέλησιν, μίαν τὴν ἐνέργειαν κατὰ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν προαγόμενην, οὐ λόγῳ φύσεως, ἀλλ' εὐδοκίας, καθ' ἣν ἡνώθη τῷ Θεῷ λόγῳ ὁ κατὰ πρόγνωσιν ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος ἐξ αὐτῆς μήτρας τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνδιάθετον ἔχων οἰκείωσιν' in *Matth* (ACO₂ I 332²⁰⁻²³; Maximus, *Spiritualis Tomus* 173; Swete, *Theodori Episcopi* 339).

³ *ad Domn* 20-26.

Godhead, referred the pronoun 'I' to the common person (*par̄sôpâ*).¹ Theodore explained what he meant by saying *prosopon* in his *Contra Eunomium*:

Prosopon is used in a twofold way: for either it signifies the hypostasis and that which each one of us is, or it is conferred upon honour, greatness and worship; for example 'Paul' and 'Peter' signify the hypostasis and the *prosopon* of each one of them, but the *prosopon* of our Lord Christ means honour, greatness and worship. For because God the Word was revealed in manhood, he was causing the glory of his hypostasis to cleave to the visible one; and for this reason, 'prosopon of Christ' declares it (= the *prosopon*) to be (a *prosopon*) of honour, not of the ousia of the two natures. For the honour is neither nature nor hypostasis, but an elevation to great dignity which is awarded as a due for the cause of revelation. What purple garments or royal apparel are for the king, is for God the Word the beginning which was taken from us without separation, alienation or distance in worship. Therefore, as it is not by nature that a king has purple robes, so also neither is it by nature that God the Word has flesh. For anyone who affirms God the Word to have flesh by nature (predicates that) he has something foreign to the divine ousia by undergoing an alteration by the addition of a nature. But if he has not flesh by nature, how does Apollinarius say that the same one is partially homoousios with the Father in his Godhead, and (partially) homoousios with us in the flesh, so that he should make him composite? For he who is thus divided into natures becomes and is found (to be) something composite by nature.²

Thus, Theodore was aware that πρόσωπον signifies ὑπόστασις or a concrete being. When applied to Christ, however, it has another meaning. To Theodore, this signifies one single honour, the one greatness, worship, dignity etc of the divinity and manhood, of which Christ is composed. This is a manner of appearance and revelation of God through the manhood. A. Grillmeier offered the following interpretation of Theodore's conception of *prosopon*: 'In Theodore, as also later in Nestorius and in Theodoret, before Chalcedon, the word *prosopon* should not simply be rendered "person," giving the word the

¹ in Ioan 8¹⁶ (*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (CSCO) 116) 119/Grillmeier, *Christ I* 431).

² contEunom 101/Grillmeier, *Christ I* 433.

strictly ontological content which it had later. *Prosopon* here should not be interpreted in the light of the definition of person in Boethius or Leontius of Byzantium. At this stage, we must also exclude the full Chalcedonian sense of *prosopon*. The Antiochene concept of *prosopon* derives from the original meaning of the word *prosopon*, "countenance." *Prosopon* is the "form in which a physis or hypostasis appears". Every nature and every hypostasis has its own proper *prosopon*. It gives expression to the reality of the nature with its powers and characteristics.¹

Now we can see why Theodore preferred to speak of a single common activity and will of Christ. Both the will and the activity, as aspects of the *prosopon*, constituted to him a common manifestation of Christ's natures. As the *prosopon* was a single appearance of both divinity and manhood in Christ, so were the activity and the will.

Theodore's conception of the single activity and will is to some extent similar to that of Apollinarius, though Theodore argued against his views. The *prosopon* of Theodore alludes to the lively and life-giving power of the Logos. Hence his idea concerning single *energeia* and will, which corresponds to the dynamic Monenergism-Monothelitism of Apollinarius.

¹ Grillmeier, *Christ I* 431.

The scheme developed by Theodore was implemented by Nestorius¹, who reproduced Theodore's conception of *prosopon* as the common glory and worship of Christ's Godhead and manhood: 'The two natures have one Lordship and one power or might and one *prosopon* in the one dignity and in the same honour.'² As an appearance of both God and man in Christ, the *prosopon* to Nestorius denoted a space, where their 'energetical' and volitional capacities manifest themselves. Therefore, Christ had one *energeia*³ and will⁴.

In conclusion, the Antiochian tradition linked to Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius⁵ considered the single activity and will of Christ as aspects of the common *prosopon*, which is an appearance and revelation of the two natures. The activity and the will constitute a common manifestation of the two natures,

¹ See on Nestorius in E. Reichert, 'Nestorius,' *BBKI* http://www.bautz.de/bbki/n/nestorius_v_k.shtml [07/01/2003].

² *ad Alex* 196¹⁵⁻¹⁷; *ACO*₂ I 334⁹⁻¹⁰/Grillmeier, *Christ* I 462.

³ See, for example: 'Ἀσυγχύτως φυλάττομεν τὰς φύσεις, οὐ κατ' οὐσίαν, γνώμη δὲ συνημμένας· διὸ καὶ μίαν αὐτῶν τὴν θέλησιν, ἐνέργειάν τε καὶ δεσποτεία ὁρῶμεν, ἀξίας ἰσότητι δεικνυμένας. ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς Λόγος ἀναλαβὼν ὃν προώρισεν ἄνθρωπον τῷ τῆς ἐξουσίας λόγῳ, πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐ διεκρίθη διὰ τὴν προγνωσθεῖσαν αὐτῷ διάθεσιν' *Sermo II* 223-224; *ACO*₂ I 332³⁵⁻³⁸.

⁴ See, for example: 'Οὐκ ἄλλος ἦν ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος καὶ ἄλλος ὁ ἐν ᾧ γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος· ἐν γὰρ ἦν ἀμφοτέρων τὸ πρόσωπο, ἀξία καὶ τιμὴ προσκυνούμενον παρὰ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως, μηδενὶ τρόπῳ ἢ χρόνῳ ἑτερότητι βουλῆς καὶ θελήματος διαιρούμενον' *Sermo IV* 224¹²⁻¹⁵; *ACO*₂ I 334³⁻⁵.

⁵ A *florilegium* containing relevant testimonies from the works of other Nestorian authors, which were collected apparently by Maximus, was included into the acts of the Lateran Council (*ACO*₂ I 332-334.) As an additional example, Nestorian patriarch Timothy I can be mentioned here, for whom hypostasis of the man assumed by the Logos had 'a single will and action with the Logos who had clothed himself in him.' *ep* 34 (*CSCO* 75) 127; (*CSCO* 74) 186. He rejected 'one will and another will,' for 'everything was brought together into an ineffable union.' *ep* 36 (*CSCO* 75) 179; (*CSCO* 74) 258.

which do not appear separately, but only together. Therefore, the *prosopon*, together with the will and the *energeia*, is one. This point of the Theodoran-Nestorian tradition was witnessed by Maximus the Confessor who in the *Disputation* with Pyrrhus said that the Monothelites, while rejecting Nestorianism, accepted the Nestorian conception of the single will:

Those who say 'one will' vindicate his (= Nestorius') teachings, for their *Ecthesis* testifies, advocates, and decrees 'one will,' which is exactly what Nestorius advocated: the doctrine of one will in two persons was invented by him.¹

Did not Nestorius, who indeed maintained that there were two persons, rather say that there was but one energy?²

Here Maximus uses the word *πρόσωπον* not in the Nestorian, but in the Cappadocian sense. The two natures of Christ, as they were understood by Nestorius, signified for Maximus two persons. These two persons are linked in a way of 'relative union' that is a source of the single will and *energeia*:

But according to what you say, if persons be introduced along with the energies, and *vice versa*, energies with persons, then you are compelled, following the same principles, either to say that because of the one operation of the Holy Godhead there is one person as well, or because of its three Hypostases that there are three operations. Or you might maintain that their union is relational (*σχετικήν*), as Nestorius said of Christ, for the one energy was the union, as Nestorius and his party maintained in their writings.³

Apparently, Maximus first, in the context of the Monothelite controversy, suggested that the Nestorian tradition presupposed Monenergism and Monothelitism and made an important contribution to the investigation of the

¹ *Disputatio* 313^b/Joseph Farrell. *The disputation with Pyrrhus of our father among the saints Maximus the Confessor*. South Canaan, Pa.: St. Tikhon's Seminary Press, 1990.

² *Disputatio* 336^d/Farrell, *The Disputation* 57.

³ *Disputatio* 336^d-337^a/Farrell, *The Disputation* 56.

Nestorian variant of Monenergism-Monothelitism. In particular, to his authorship apparently belongs the *florilegium* of relevant Theodorian-Nestorian texts, which was included in the acts of the Lateran Council.

3. ANTI-CHALCEDONIAN MONENERGISM AND MONOTHELITISM

A tradition affiliating itself to Cyril of Alexandria and rejecting the Council of Chalcedon with its 'two natures' formulas was developed as a marginal opposition to the Nestorian Christology. Although the representatives of this non-Chalcedonian tradition heavily criticised Nestorianism, they to some extent retained its belief in the single *energeia* and will in Christ. However, this belief became more important for the anti-Chalcedonians than for the Nestorians. In addition, it was built on different theological presuppositions. The chief representative of this tradition was Severus of Antioch (465-538).¹

3.1. SEVERUS AND HIS DISCIPLES-ADVERSARIES

3.1.1. MONENERGISM OF SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH

The available testimonies allow us to say that Severus was the first among the major teachers of Monophysitism who in a direct way dealt with the issue of activities in Christ. This is not strange, insofar as he was the first in many other fields of theological research.² He was compelled to deal with the

¹ See W. A. Wigram. *The separation of the Monophysites*. London: Faith Press, 1923; Joseph Lebon. 'La christologie du monophysisme syrien.' In *Das Konzil von Chalkedon: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, edited by Aloys Grillmeier and Heinrich Bacht, 425-580, 1951; W. H. C. Frend. *The rise of the Monophysite movement: chapters in the history of the church in the fifth and sixth centuries*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1972; Roberta Chesnut. *Three monophysite christologies: Severus of Antioch, Philoxenus of Mabbug and Jacob of Sarug, Oxford theological monographs*. London: Oxford University Press, 1976.

² According to A. Grillmeier, 'He became the challenger for the entire sixth century.' *Christ* II² 19.

issue by his adversaries either from the camp of the Monophysites or from the Dyophysite party. Among his main opponents were Julian of Halicarnassus and Sergius the Grammarian from the side of the Monophysites, and John the Grammarian and Nephalius from the Chalcedonians. The problem of *energeia* as such, however, was not Severus' target. He solved it within the wider problematic of Christ's essence(s) and property(ies). However, the conclusions he came to became a pattern to be followed by later generations of 'Severans.'

For Severus, the *energeia* of Christ was primarily single: 'There is only one single activity, only one single operative motion.'¹ Any duality in regard of it should be avoided, as he clarified in the surviving Greek fragment from his third epistle to John the abbot: 'We understood and understand the one composite (activity); it cannot be interpreted other than as a rejection of every duality.'² Severus explored the oneness of the *energeia* as an argument in favour of the oneness of the Christ's nature. Oneness of the *energeia* was for him more evident than the oneness of the nature. He ascribed the single *energeia* of Christ exclusively to Christ as an acting subject. It was no wonder, therefore, that he condemned Pope Leo who linked the *energeiai* to the natures³:

¹ *contGram* III 38 (CSCO 102) 175⁶/Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 163.

² *adloan* 309²⁰⁻²².

³ Severus refers here to the famous formula from the *Tomus* of Leo: 'Agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione quod proprium habuit, Verbo quidem operante quod Verbi est, carne autem exequente quod carnis est, et horum coruscat miraculis, aliud vero subcumbit iniuriis.' *adFlav* 28¹²⁻¹⁴.

If he (= Leo) in spirit were to hold and confess the hypostatic union, he could not say that each of the two natures keeps its property without detracting, but he would say, like Cyril, that the Logos now and then permitted the flesh to suffer what is proper to it and to operate according to the laws of its nature. Thus the Logos would bear that as its own which is of the flesh, and still not relinquish what he has according to his essence (οὐσία), also not the superiority to suffering and his highest nobility.¹

By ascribing the *energeiai* to two natures, Leo, for Severus, was introducing two subjects of activity and thus splitting Christ. One *energeia* was for him therefore an inevitable condition of the unity of Christ. Concerning the single *energeia*, it is not only its subject, which is divine, but the *energeia* itself is mostly divine as well.² A. Grillmeier characterizes it as an activity, which ‘flows from above.’³ Severus stated concerning this:

In fact when the God-Logos in his august union with humanity ... allowed this to change, even transformed this, not indeed into his own nature – for this remained what it was – but into his glory (δόξα) and into his own power (ἐνέργεια), how then can you refer to the teaching of the *Synod* of Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo..., which have distributed (the *operationes*, the activity of the ἐνέργεια) to the Logos and the human being in Christ?⁴

¹ *contGram* III 29 (CSCO 102) 79¹⁸⁻²⁵/Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 162.

² As Grillmeier remarks, ‘The Logos is always conceived by Severus as *agens*, as ἐνεργήσας, always involved in the works mentioned. He is not only the final, bearing subject, to which according to the law of the communication of *idiomata* even purely human acts are ascribed, while the ability (*facultas*), which releases them from itself, would be the human nature. According to Severus, in every activity of the Emmanuel, that is, the incarnate Logos, the divinity participates as *facultas*, as nature principle, and not only as final, bearing subject.’ Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 165.

³ Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 163.

⁴ *Philalethes* (CSCO 134) 266²⁸⁻²⁶⁷/Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 83; also *adOecum* 184⁴⁻⁷. In this way Severus interpreted the following passage of Cyril: ‘Now we say that the coal represents for us the symbol and the image of the incarnate Logos ... One can see in the coal, as in an image, the Logos who has proceeded from the Father and has been united to the humanity; but he has not ceased to be that which he was; rather he has transformed into his *doxa* and power (εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν τε καὶ ἐνέργειαν) what had been assumed, i.e. united to him. Just as the fire informs the wood and expands itself in it as it takes possession of it, without at all causing the wood to cease being wood, rather allowing it to blend into the appearance and power of the

The question here is what should be the place of a human ‘component,’ if any, in this activity. The humanity of Christ, which Severus designated as ‘flesh endowed with a rational soul,’¹ is an ὄργανον through which the Logos acts.² This ‘instrument’ must not be considered separately from its consummate unity with the Logos. It is not detachable from the Christ’s single nature, but constitutes an integral part of it. Severus made this clear in the following passage:

The incarnate has done and said this, for it is united hypostatically to the body and through adhering together (συμφυῖα) it had this as an organ for the deeds, as the soul too, which is peculiar to each one of us, has chosen its own body as organ; the Logos does not act through an extrinsically (united) God-bearing human being, as the ravings of Nestorius would have it, nor in the way in which an artisan uses a tool and thus completes the work and (not) like the way a cithara player strikes the cithara.³

fire, as this (= the fire) effects in it (= the wood) what is proper to the former and thus appears to be completely one with it, so, also, represent to yourself the things with Christ! For God has ..., in an ineffable way united with humanity, retained what this was but also what he was; once truly united, it (the humanity) is one with him. For he has made his own what is its (humanity’s) and now pours out into it the power of his own nature (ἐμποιήσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτῇ τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως τὴν ἐνέργειαν).’ *Scholia* 154 ff./Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 82.

¹ *contGram* III 33 (CSCO, 102) 134.

² See *contGram* III 33 (CSCO, 102) 136¹⁷⁻²⁰; *adSerg* I (CSCO 120) 62⁸⁻²¹.

³ *contGram* III 33 (CSCO, 102) 135²⁻¹⁰/Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 168. Severus based his conception of flesh as ὄργανον on the teaching of Athanasius: ‘Θεὸς ὢν, ἴδιον ἔσχε σῶμα, καὶ τούτῳ χρώμενος ὄργανῳ, γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος δι’ ἡμᾶς. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ μὲν ἴδια ταύτης αὐτοῦ λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ ἐν αὐτῇ ἦν, οἷά ἐστι τὸ πεινῆν, τὸ διψῆν, τὸ πᾶσχειν, τὸ κοπιᾶν, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια, ὧν ἐστὶν ἡ σὰρξ δεκτικὴ· τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Λόγου ἴδια ἔργα, οἷά ἐστι, τὸ ἐγείρειν νεκροὺς, καὶ τυφλοὺς ποιεῖν ἀναβλέπειν, καὶ τὴν αἰμορροοῦσαν ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸν, διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος αὐτὸς ἐποίει· καὶ ὁ μὲν Λόγος τὰς τῆς σαρκὸς ἐβάσταζεν ἀσθενείας, ὡς ἰδίας· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἦν ἡ σὰρξ· καὶ ἡ σὰρξ δὲ ὑποὔργει τοῖς τῆς θεότητος ἔργοις, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ ἐγένετο· Θεοῦ γὰρ ἦν σῶμα.’ *contArian* 389^{a-b}; see *contGram* III 33 (CSCO, 102) 135²⁰⁻²²; see also in Athanasius: ‘Αὐτὸς γὰρ δυνατὸς ὢν καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν ὅλων, ἐν τῇ παρθένῳ κατασκευάζει ἑαυτῷ ναὸν τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἰδιοποιεῖται τοῦτο ὥσπερ ὄργανον, ἐν αὐτῷ γνωριζόμενος καὶ ἐνοικῶν.’ *deIncarn* 8.37-10.

This clarifies the place of a human aspect in the activity of Christ, which can be regarded as a vehicle of the dominating divine *energeia* helping it to be manifested in the world. This 'vehicle' is an integrated part of the single activity, though not as significant as the divine one. Severus illustrated this by referring to the Gospel story about the healing of the leper:

While the incarnate God spoke with human tongue and said with human and clear voice to the leper: 'I will, be clean' (Matt 8, 3), he showed through the effect that the voice, in keeping with the mixing worthy of God, has gone forth from the incarnate God; for the healing of the leper went together with the heard word.¹

This is an illustration of how Severus understood the process of Christ's action, which was reconstructed by A. Grillmeier: 'The activity starts from the divinity as the real source; it mixes itself with the human voice (or as well with the touch of Jesus' hand) and produces the miraculous effect in the sick person. The human voice is only the vehicle of the divine flow of will.'²

Anticipating the later Monenergists, Severus built his conception of the single *energeia* upon the famous formula from the fourth epistle of ps.-Dionysius to Gaius:

For, even, to speak summarily, He was not a man, not as 'not being man,' but as 'being from men was beyond men,' and was above man, having truly been born man; and for the rest, not having done things Divine as God, nor things human as man, but exercising for us **a certain new theandric energy** of God having become man.³

¹ *contGram* III 32 (CSCO 102) 94²⁷⁻³²/Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 163-164.

² Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 164.

³ *CorpDionys* II 161; PG 3, 1072^{b-c}/Transl. by John Parker (modified), The Saint Pachomius Library <http://www.ocf.org/OrthodoxPage/reading/St.Pachomius/diolet4.html> [23/07/2003].

Severus was the first theologian who interpreted the formula in the Monenergist way. He wrote some *scholia* to this text. In one of them, which is found in the letter to John the abbot, he stated:

As we have already developed in full breadth in other writings, we understood and understand the statement of the utterly wise Dionysius the Areopagite, who says: 'Since God has become a human being, he performed among us a new theandric activity,' of the one composite (activity); it cannot be interpreted other than as a rejection of every duality; and we confess the incarnate God, who operated in this new manner, as the one theandric nature and hypostasis and also as the one incarnate nature of the God-Logos. Because the reason of salvation, which has established new natures, together with them has established new appellations. So that if Christ is one, than we ascend, so to say, to a high mountain and profess one – because he is one – nature, hypostasis, and *energeia*, (which are also) composite; also we anathematize all those who, concerning this (question), teaches about a dyad of natures and activities after the unity.¹

This passage provides rich material for conclusions.² Firstly, Severus once again repeated that the *energeia* of Christ is single, and this is because Christ is one. It is single also because the nature-hypostasis³ of Christ is single. Apart from this, he showed us that the *energeia* is closely linked to the nature-hypostasis. The mode of their unity and their existence after the Incarnation are identical. Therefore, they can be characterized in a similar way.⁴ For instance, as

¹ *adloan* 309-310.

² For a theological interpretation of the text see A. Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 170-171; J. Lebon, *Le Monophysitisme* 319-320, 451-453; 'Le pseudo-Denys' 893-895.

³ As it is known, Severus considered the terms 'nature' and 'hypostasis' in application to Christ as synonyms (see, for instance, Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 150-152).

⁴ See another fragment from the epistle to John the abbot: 'Ἀκόλουθον οὖν ἐστὶ συνθέτου νοουμένης ἡμῖν καὶ μιᾶς τῆς θεανδρικῆς ἐνεργείας, τοιαύτην εἶναί τε καὶ λέγεσθαι καὶ τὴν τοῦ ταύτην προφέροντος φύσιν τε καὶ ὑπόστασιν.' *adloan* 310⁸⁻¹¹. J. Lebon comments on these passages: 'La nature et l'hypostase du Verbe incarné sont dans les mêmes conditions que son activité: si l'on dit que l'activité est unique, théandrique et composée, il est logique de donner ces qualificatifs à la nature et à l'hypostase.' *Le Monophysitisme* 320.

the single *energeia* of Christ is 'theandric' so is the nature-hypostasis: 'We confess one theandric nature and hypostasis.'¹ On the other hand, the single *energeia* of Christ is one and composite, as is the nature-hypostasis. Thus, what Severus meant when speaking about the single composite nature and hypostasis can help us to reconstruct his idea about the single composite activity of Christ.

The usage by Severus of the term σύνθεσις with respect to Christ had been formally justified by Cyril of Alexandria² and Gregory of Nazianzus³ to whom he refers. However, the expression 'one composite nature and hypostasis' had never been used before.⁴ The expression is synonymous – at least for Severus – with the classical formula 'one incarnate nature of the Word.' The theologian opposed the σύνθεσις to the 'mixing' (μίξις) and made it synonymous with the 'unity' (ἕνωσις). By using the expression, he wanted to avoid two extremes, that of a division and that of a mixture in Christ. As A. Grillmeier remarks, σύνθεσις for Severus was 'not so much a static ontological end result, as rather the characterization of the historical process of

¹ 'Μίαν ὁμολογοῦμεν φύσιν καὶ ὑπόστασιν θεανδρικήν' *ad Ioan* 309²⁴.

² Severus, *ad Sergium* II (CSCO 120) 80. He refers to the following works of Cyril: *ad Succen* II; *Quod Unus* 689^{ab}.

³ See Severus' *ad Serg* II (CSCO 120) 84-86.

⁴ This is the conclusion of J. Lebon: 'En somme, Sévère est le seul témoin de la formule: μία φύσις (καὶ ὑπόστασις) σύνθετος, qu'il emploie dans un passage de sa 3^e lettre à Jean l'higoumène.' *Le Monophysitisme* 319.

the assumption of the flesh by the Logos according to the *hypostasis*.¹ It also signified a new status of existence of the nature of Christ. The humanity and divinity of Christ 'exist only in the status of the composition' (ἐν συνθέσει ὑφεστώτων). Out of Christ, they exist on the entirely different level of being independent monads (ἐν μονάσιν ιδιοσυστάτοις).² All these characteristics of the composed nature-hypostasis can be applied to the composed *energeia* of Christ. Thus, the *energeia* is not a mixture, but a dynamic unity of its divine and human 'components.' In fact, it is an entirely new and different modus of activity, which can be identified neither with purely divine nor with purely human activities.

Apart from emphasising the unity of the single Christ's *energeia*, Severus also allowed certain diversity in it. Thus, he drew a distinction between the one acting Christ, one activity, and result(s) of this activity: 'He who acts is one thing, and activity is another, and another that which was enacted, and these things are quite removed from each other.'³ The activity is not something that

¹ Christ II² 128.

² Leontius of Jerusalem ascribed the expressions to Severus (*contMonoph* 1848^a; see J. Lebon, 'La christologie' 476 n. 59; Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 127). J. Lebon: 'Sévère declare qu'il ne peut comprendre cette expression, si ce n'est dans le sens d'une activité *composée* (σύνθετος) mais rigoureusement *une* (μία). L'épithète θεανδρική ne lèse en rien l'unité d'activité...; elle indique seulement que cette activité d'un genre nouveau, que le Verbe exerce après s'être fait chair, est le résultat de la *composition*. Or, cette dernière écarte la *division* aussi bien qu'elle évite le mélange des choses *composées*. Le patriarche peut ainsi conserver dans le Christ une activité *unique*, malgré la qualification de *théandrique* qu'elle reçoit de l'Areopagite.' *Le Monophysitisme* 319-320.

³ *adSerg* I (CSCO 119) 81/Iain Torrance. *Christology after Chalcedon: Severus of Antioch and Sergius the Monophysite*. Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1988, 152.

exists detached of the acting subject. It has no an independent existence, because it is just a movement or a motion: 'Activity is something in the middle, that is, an active movement, between him who acted and that which was acted upon.'¹ Severus formulated the 'ontological' status of activity as 'being not a hypostasis.' On the other hand, the results of the activity, being concrete things, are hypostases: '(Activity) is not a hypostasis, but the things which are enacted, which are brought to completion as a result of this and exist, (are hypostases).'² In this, Severus follows ps.-Basil's fourth book *Contra Eunomium*³, in which the same distinction was employed.⁴ Both Christ and his activity for Severus are single. The latter could be attributed neither to the Godhead nor to the humanity, but to the single Christ. The results of the activity, however, are diverse and can be classified either as divine or human works:

There is one who acts (ἐνεργήσας), that is the Word of God incarnate; and there is one active movement which is activity (ἐνέργεια), but the things which are done (ἐνεργηθέντα) are diverse, that is, (the things) accomplished by activity ... And it is not that, because these things which were done were of different kinds, we say that conceptually there were two natures which were

¹ *adSerg* I (CSCO 119) 82/Torrance, *Christology* 152-153.

² *adSerg* I (CSCO 119) 81/Torrance, *Christology* 152.

³ About the authenticity of the books 4 and 5 see *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (CPG) 2837.

⁴ The author of the 4th book *contEunom* writes: 'Εἰ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐνέργημα, καὶ οὐ γέννημα, οὔτε ὁ ἐνεργήσας, οὔτε μὴν τὸ ἐνεργηθὲν αὐτός ἐστιν ἕτερον γὰρ ἢν ἡ ἐνέργεια παρὰ ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνυπόστατος· οὐδεμία γὰρ ἐνέργεια ἐνυπόστατος. Εἰ δὲ τὸ ἐνεργηθὲν, τρίτος ἐκ Πατρὸς, καὶ οὐκ ἀμεσίτευτος. Ὁ ἐνεργήσας γὰρ πρῶτος, εἴτα ἡ ἐνέργεια, καὶ οὕτω τὸ ἐνεργηθὲν.' *contEunom* 689^c.

effecting those things, for as we have said, a single God the Word incarnate performed both of them.¹

In order to illustrate how Christ acted, Severus used the model of man.

He said that there are intellectual and corporeal human works that can be clearly distinguished. Each sort of works corresponds either to body or to soul.

However, the activity is still one:

Therefore godless are those, who with regard to Christ teach two natures which act; for it is necessary that each nature has an action which is proper to it and different, that is, an acting movement/motion. If we confess Christ as one from two, and as one person, one hypostasis and one single incarnate nature of the Logos, consequently it will be one who acts and one movement which bears him in action, although the works are different, that is, the completely performed deeds which come from the action. For some fit God, others the human being; but they are performed by one and the same, by God who without alteration has become flesh and a human being. And this is not surprising, (but) similar to the works of a human being, of which some are intellectual, the others visible and corporeal ... It is, however, a single human being, composed of a body and a soul, who does this and that, and there is only one single working movement. Hence, when Christ is concerned, we recognize a change of words. Some suit God, others the human being ... But on this account we do not say that there they belong to that nature and here to this nature. For they were expressed indistinguishably of the one and the same Christ.²

Thus, the activity and its results, deeds, do not always correspond to each other. The unity of the activity, from which neither purely divine nor purely human *energeiai* can be extracted, becomes dispersed into multiple deeds that could be described either as divine or as human.

¹ *adSerg* I (CSCO 120) 60³³-61⁹/Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 165. He repeated the same idea in *contGram*: 'There is only one single activity, only one single operative motion, as there is also only one speaking of the incarnate Logos, be it that the actions and the words have been different.' *contGram* III 38 (CSCO 102) 175⁶⁻⁷. J. Meyendorff remarks about this point of Severus: 'The agent's unity (Christ's single hypostasis-nature) entails the unity of *energeia*, without making it impossible for the works, corresponding to the natural qualities of the human and divine natures, to be distributed into various categories, divine and human.' John Meyendorff. *Christ in Eastern Christian thought*. 2nd ed. Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1975, 43.

² *Hom* 109, 758-760.

Another important question, which is closely linked to the issue of *energeia*, is that of Christ's natural property(ies). Severus developed a special and quite innovative conception of the natural properties. This conception was articulated mainly in his correspondence with Sergius the Grammarian.¹ Severus used the word 'property' both in the singular and the plural. In both cases, he called them 'natural.' In the case of properties-in-the-plural, he also spoke of 'properties of the flesh,' 'properties of the humanity,' and 'properties of the divinity of the Word.'² In respect to the property-in-the-singular, he asserted its oneness. He condemned the idea of two properties coexisting in Christ, as well as of two *energeiai*. He probably referred to the corresponding teaching of his opponents among the Dyophysites:

If someone should wrongfully divide Emmanuel with a duality of natures after the union, there also occurs a division at the same time, along with the difference of the natures, and the properties are divided in every respect to suit the (two) natures.³

Two natures of Christ would necessarily introduce two properties. This is because his property (property-in-the-singular) corresponds to the nature. In another part of the same letter, Severus spoke of a complete fitting of the property to the nature: 'Those natures attract their own activities and properties which are divided along with the natures completely and in everything.'⁴

¹ See a special research of Torrance, *Christology*; see also A. Grillmeier, *Christ* 117-128.

² *adSerg* I (CSCO 119) 77-79/Torrance, *Christology* 150.

³ *adSerg* I (CSCO 119) 77-78/Torrance, *Christology* 150.

⁴ *adSerg* I (CSCO 119) 80/Torrance, *Christology* 151.

However, the property-in-the-singular is not monolithic. It reflects the wholeness of Christ's nature, which includes divinity and humanity.¹ The Godhead does not turn into the humanity, and the humanity does not become divinity. The single Logos retains both of them unchangeable as his natural characteristics and natural properties:

We are not allowed to anathematize those who speak of natural properties: the divinity and the humanity that make the single Christ. The flesh does not cease to exist as flesh, even if it becomes God's flesh, and the Word does not abandon his own nature, even if he unites himself hypostatically to the flesh which possesses a rational and intelligent soul. But the difference is also preserved as well as the identity under the form of the natural characteristics of the natures which make up the Emmanuel, since the flesh is not transformed into the Word's nature and the Word is not changed into flesh.²

These special characteristics of divinity and humanity, which are retained by the single nature of the Logos, were called by Severus 'particularities.' The natural property that remains single reveals these two 'particularities':

We are obliged to acknowledge as well the particularities of the natures from which Emmanuel is. And we call this a particularity and name it: (this is,) that which (lies) in difference of natural quality, which (definition) I will not cease repeating many times, and not that (which lies) in (independent) parts, and natures in independent existence are implied.³

Moreover, the two particularities should be ascribed primarily to the property of Christ and much less to his nature. In such a way, Severus found an effective solution to the antinomy which he was always facing: how is it possible to speak simultaneously about the unity and a certain duality of

¹ Severus remarked: 'Natural quality is the principle of how (a thing) is.' *adSerg I* (CSCO 119) 77-78/Torrance, *Christology* 150.

² *adOecum* 2¹⁷⁶⁻¹⁷⁷/Meyendorff, *Christ* 40-41.

³ *adSerg I* (CSCO 119) 80/Torrance, *Christology* 152.

Christ's nature? To him, it was possible because the duality is retained mainly in the property of the nature. By ascribing particularities to the property, Severus withdrew them from the single nature and so protected it from being split by particularities. In addition, the fact that Christ's single nature-hypostasis is composite could be explained by the dual character of the natural property.¹

It is now possible to conclude that the duality of the property for Severus was stronger than the duality either of the nature or of the *energeia*. This means, in turn, that the property did not correspond as closely to the nature, as, for example, the Chalcedonians believed. Thus, Severus allowed certain incoherence and a 'gap' between the nature and its property. Such a 'gap' also exists between the property and the activity, which is more closely related to the nature than the property. However, even so the property remains single. In order to prove this, Severus implied an argument that later would be used by the Monenergists. He said that if one accepts two properties, then a multiplicity of them must be assumed, because both the divinity and the humanity of Christ have various properties:

How is it not absurd to speak of two properties or two activities? For there are many properties and not just two, of each nature. For example, of his humanity there is perceptibility, and visibility, and mortality, and being subject to hunger and to thirst and to other things like it. And there are many properties of the divine nature: invisibility, intangibility, being before the ages, being unlimited.

¹ See Meyendorff: 'These two categories or qualities, divine and human, within the single nature (or concrete being) are undoubtedly what makes this "composite nature" inevitable.' *Christ* 41.

The things which are done are similarly many and various, and all these are as many as the human and divine actions that a man can recount.¹

Severus used in this passage the word 'property' in the plural. He made a clear distinction between the single property and the multiple properties of Christ's single nature. He placed the properties-in-the-plural on the same scale as the deeds of Christ. They are, so to speak, 'deeds' either of the single property or of the single nature. The multiplicity of the properties-in-the-plural can be grouped into two categories: divine and human. Some properties retain their divine character, others the human one. However, this distinction between the properties is conditional. Because of their unity in one Christ, they can be characterized neither as purely divine nor as purely human. The divine ones can also be named human and *vice versa*:

When a hypostatic union is professed, of which the fulfilment is that from two there is one Christ without confusion, one person, one hypostasis, one nature belonging to the Word incarnate, the Word is known by means of the properties of the flesh, and the properties of the humanity will become the properties of the divinity of the Word; and again the properties of the Word will be acknowledged as the properties of the flesh, and the same one will be seen by means of both (sets of properties), both touchable and not touchable, and visible and not visible, and belonging to time and from before time, and we shall not attribute the properties of each nature, dividing them up.²

3.1.2. MONOTHELITISM OF SEVERUS

Severus did not pay as much attention to the conception of will in Christ as he did in the case of the *energeia*. We have a few general outlines of his views

¹ *adSerg I* (CSCO 119) 86-87/Torrance, *Christology* 155.

² *adSerg I* (CSCO 119) 79/Torrance, *Christology* 151.

on the question of will. Deacon Olympiodore¹, an Alexandrian exegete ordained by the Patriarch John II Nicaïotes (505-516), tells us that Severus taught about one will of Christ.² Indeed, Severus allows a researcher of his views to conclude that he preferred to speak of the single will in Christ. Severus linked will to activity. An activity is an impetus of a will (in other passages, however, he implies that, rather, a will is the impetus of an activity). In Christ there is no gap between willing and acting – he wills and immediately acts:

He who acts is he who is impelled towards doing something, but the activity (is) like an active movement and impetus of the will which is directed on and indicates doing something, and is set in motion at once. In the case of activity, that which wills (it) remains complete and momentarily impelled to action.³

As it was mentioned above, Severus explained the process of acting, in which the will is involved, using the Gospel story about the leper:

While the incarnate God spoke with human tongue and said with human and clear voice to the leper: 'I will, be clean' (Matt 8, 3), he showed through the effect that the voice, in keeping with the mixing worthy of God, has gone forth from the incarnate God; for the healing of the leper went together with the heard word.⁴

It appears from the passage that there is a mediator between the incarnate God and the *energeia*, which can be identified as a will. The will is apparently single, because it is attributed to the subject of the activity and

¹ See Grillmeier, *Christ II*⁴ 105-106.

² The testimony is contained in the only surviving fragment from his *contSever*.

³ *adSerg I* (CSCO 119) 81/Torrance, *Christology* 152.

⁴ *contGram III* 32 (CSCO 102) 94²⁷⁻³²/Grillmeier, *Christ II*² 163-164.

because it is linked to the *energeia*, which is single.¹ However, Severus seems to be not as categorical about oneness of the will, as he was about the *energeia*. He admitted a certain duality in it. He accepted such a duality in the unity of body and soul, which he used as an analogy of Christ's unity. Severus recognized two wills in a man. One is attributed to the flesh and another to the soul. Their coexistence, however, does not split one human nature into two parts:

Do we not see in the human being, as we are, who is one nature and hypostasis from body and soul, how he can now spontaneously demand nourishment ..., but then also can reflect on that and despise the material food, and in its place surrender himself to heavenly thoughts in desiring likeness to God? Thus there are two wills in the human being; one wills what is of the flesh, the other what is of the soul which is created according to the image of God. Should we for this reason divide the human being and consider it as two natures and *hypostases*? By doing this we would make fools of ourselves.²

This analogy can be fully applied to Christ. Thus, two wills can be distinguished in him: one divine and another human. The former wishes to save people through sufferings of the flesh, while the latter accepts this will:

Even less is Christ divided into two natures. He is indeed one from two, from divinity and humanity, one person and *hypostasis*, the one nature of the Logos, become flesh and perfect human being. For this reason he also displays two wills in salvific suffering, the one which requests, the other which is prepared, the one human, the other divine. As he voluntarily took upon himself death in the flesh, which was able to take over suffering and dissolved the domination of death by killing it through immortality — which the resurrection had shown clearly to all — so in the flesh, whose fruit he could take over — it was indeed rationally animated — he voluntarily took upon himself the *passio* of fear and weakness and uttered words of request, in order through the divine courage to

¹ A. Grillmeier: 'The human voice is ... the vehicle of the divine flow of will; for without a doubt Severus ascribes the "I will" to the volition of the divinity. The human will of Christ clearly does not need to be active.' *Christ* II² 164; he adds: 'In fact Severus finds it difficult to recognize and appreciate the genuine activity of the human willing of Christ.' *Christ* II² 166.

² *contGram* III 33 (CSCO 102) 132³¹-133⁷/Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 167.

destroy the power of that fear and to give courage to the whole of humanity, for he became after the first Adam the second beginning of our race.¹

Severus continues:

The teacher of divine dogmas² has characterized very well the request (of Christ) to avert suffering as 'will'; in this way he shows that it occurs for us against the inclination and will to have fear and trembling in the face of danger, but Christ took this over voluntarily. Thus there was really a will present, no involuntary suffering. He (Ps. Athanasius) immediately showed that he acknowledges the one Christ from two and does not divide up into two wills what belongs to one and the same, namely the incarnate God, by adding this after the passage cited: (Athanasius) 'He suffers from weakness, but he lives from the power of God' (2 Cor. 13,4). The power of God is, however, the Son who suffered from weakness, that is from interweaving (συμπλοκή)³ with the flesh, as a human being he prayed to be freed from suffering; he lives, however, through his (the Son's) power (PG 26, 1024).

The Word of God was thus united to the flesh, which was endowed with a rational soul and was not divided after the union through the doubling of the natures. For that word 'union' (συμπλοκή) ... denotes one being existing from two in unmingledness, a formula which expresses essential union, but is rejected by the Council of Chalcedon. Thus one and the same prayed as a human being to avoid suffering ... and as God said: the spirit is willing, and voluntarily proceeded to suffer. Hence let us apportion neither the wills nor the words (*voces*) to two natures and forms.⁴

¹ *contGram* III 33 (CSCO 102) 133⁷⁻²¹/Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 167.

² Severus referred to ps.-Athanasius' work *De Incarnatione et contra Arianos*, which in fact belongs to Marcellus of Ancyra (see M. Tetz, 'Zur Theologie des Markell von Ankyra.' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 75 (1964), 217-270; A. Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 284-287). The ps.-Athanasius' text says: "Ὅταν λέγῃ· Πάτερ, εἰ δυνατόν, τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο παρελθέτω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· πλὴν μὴ τὸ ἐμὸν θέλημα γένηται, ἀλλὰ τὸ σόν· καὶ, Τὸ μὲν Πνεῦμα πρόθυμον, ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ἀσθενής· δύο θελήματα ἐνταῦθα δείκνυσιν, τὸ μὲν ἀνθρώπινον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῆς σαρκός· τὸ δὲ θεϊκόν, ὅπερ Θεοῦ." *deIncarnContArian* 1021^{b-c}. This text was misinterpreted, as Severus thought, by John the Grammarian who 'had heard that the teacher (= ps.-Athanasius) speaks of two wills, of one (will) of fear, the human, which has its cause from the flesh, and the other, divine, prepared to suffer.' *contGram* III 33 (CSCO 102) 132²⁷⁻³⁰/Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 166. This allowed John to affirm that Christ has two natures.

³ The translators of A. Grillmeier's monography (*Christ in Christian Tradition*) unsuccessfully translated this word as 'union.'

⁴ *contGram* III 33 (CSCO 102) 133³⁴-134²¹/Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 167.

Another mention of the human will in Christ occurs when he interprets a verse of Isaiah: 'He (= the Emmanuel) will eat butter and honey until the time in which he understands how to reject evil and to choose good' (Isa 7, 15). Severus refers to this verse in his *Homily* 83:

With respect to him (the new Adam) the prophet Isaiah says: 'Before he knows or chooses evil, he will choose good' (7, 15). For before the child recognizes good or evil, he spurns evil in order to choose good. None of us, who is tested as a child, already has knowledge of good and evil. Only with the advance of time, it (the child) begins to distinguish them. But because the Emmanuel is by nature also God and goodness itself, although he has become a child according to the οἰκονομία, he did not await the time of the distinction; on the contrary. From the time of swaddling clothes, before he came to an age of distinguishing between good and evil, on the one side he spurned evil and did not listen to it, and on the other he chose good. These words 'he spurned' and 'he did not listen' and the other 'he chose' show us that the Logos of God has united himself not only to the flesh, but also to the soul, which is endowed with will and understanding, in order to allow our souls, which are inclined towards evil, to lean towards choosing good and turning away from evil. For God as God does not need to choose good; but because for our sakes he assumed flesh and spiritual soul, he took for us this redress.¹

The role of the human will in both cases (accepting sufferings and choosing the good) is rather passive. It accepts and subjects itself to the divine will, which, like in the case of the *energeia*, dominates over the human one. The two wills are united in one volitional impulse, when Christ voluntarily takes upon himself death or spurns evil and chooses good. This duality by no means destroys the unity of Christ.

A certain inconsistency may be seen in the conception of Severus. On the one hand, the will is one, and it is overwhelmingly divine. On the other hand, however, there are two wills. Severus did not limit himself by stating that the

¹ PO 20, 415¹⁵-416¹⁵/Grillmeier, *Christ II* 168-169.

single will is *from* two wills and Christ for him manifests two wills *after* the Incarnation. This obvious contradiction can be resolved if we suggest that Severus implied here the same distinction as he did regarding the single *energeia* and multiplicity of deeds, as well as one property-in-the-singular and multiplicity of properties-in-the-plural – a distinction between the single initial impulse of will and its volitional results. This distinction may be noticed in the passages quoted above. Indeed, Severus spoke about two wills as manifestations of the volitional impulse (he also *displays* two wills in salvific suffering). The human will 'is prepared' to accept sufferings. Thus, we see a result of such a preparation, but not the preparation as a process. Such a realization of the volitional impulse, a deed, is the Christ's 'request to avert suffering.' Again, Severus did not speak of a process, but of a volitional action that has already been performed.

3.1.3. JULIAN OF HALICARNASSUS

One of Severus' major opponents and simultaneously disciple among the Monophysites, Julian the bishop of Halicarnassus (died after 527)¹, developed his own version of Monenergism. He was doing this in the wider context of arguments concerning the corruptibility of Christ's body. Julian, in drawing his own picture of Christ's activity, was to a significant extent inspired by Severus.

¹ See the bibliography in H.-U. Rosenbaum, 'Julianus von Halikarnassus,' *BBKL* http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/j/julianus_v_hal.shtml [10/06/2002].

As a starting point, he took Severus' idea of the dominating divine *energeia*¹ and developed it into his own conception of uncorruptedness of Christ's body.²

Julian widened the initial Severan conception of the single *energeia*. The line of Julian's thinking seems to be as follows. Only if Christ's body is uncorrupted, it is possible to speak of the single property of the incarnate Logos. Otherwise, the assumed corruptedness of the body cannot be united with the opposite uncorruptedness of the Godhead. Once the property is single, either the passions or the actions of Christ's single nature constitute a single *energeia* as well. Christ's total uncorruptedness, which includes uncorruptedness of the body, implies a single natural property, which is free of any duality. This was the major point of disagreement between Julian and Severus. Severus admitted such a duality in Christ's property. In particular, he defended the body's corruptibility, which was out of the properties of Christ together with the incorruptibility of the Godhead. For Julian, however, this would imply two natures:

If anyone divides up the one nature of the human being into what is unbodily and what is in the flesh and says: this (the flesh) is corruptible according to

¹ See Grillmeier, *Christ II* 84.

² An incentive for him to develop this doctrine may have been provided by the following phrase of Severus from his *Philalethes*: 'For in many cases it is apparent that the Logos did not permit the flesh to move according to the law of the nature of flesh (Severus refers to the Christ's walking on the water, events before his crucifixion and after the resurrection) ... How does (all this) belong to the flesh if it was not endowed with the power (ἐνέργεια) of the Logos, an entitlement of the Godhead, if it was not to be regarded as one with him, corresponding to the holy word of the holy Cyril?... This all the more so as this (flesh) was indeed material and touchable with the hand, thus did not cease to be flesh, whereby it stood above corruptibility.' *Philalethes* (CSCO 134) 267¹¹⁻²⁴/Grillmeier, *Christ II* 83; see Grillmeier, *Christ II* 82-85; 98-111.

nature, even if it has not sinned, the soul in contrast escapes the condemnation to death; (whoever calls upon this analogy) in order to represent the Lord as 'naturally corrupted' according to the flesh and as 'incorrupt' according to the spirit (i.e. the Godhead), introduces by this means a duality of the Christs, the natures, the properties, and the sons: the one is (son) by nature, the other only in the applied sense.¹

Thus, Julian closely linked the single nature of Christ and its property. He did not admit any 'gap' between them and so denied accepting any duality in both of them. He also closely linked with them a single activity. In particular, he established a strong correspondence between the property and the activity.² One *energeia* implied for him one property, and *vice versa*. Because the *energeia* in his opinion was mainly divine (as was said above, he was basing this on Severus' conception that the divine activity infuses into the human body of Christ and dominates over it), the property was divine as well. Hence the uncorruptedness of the body. While defending a strong correspondence between the nature, the property, and the *energeia* of Christ, Julian was following the presuppositions which were accepted by the Chalcedonians and rejected by Severus.³ Of course, this does not mean that both Severus and the Chalcedonians would accept his views on the uncorruptedness of the body of Christ. These views implied for them that Christ's sufferings and manifestations of his humanity were not real enough. Both the Dyophysites and Severus

¹ Julian, *Anath* 7, 62; Severus, *advlul* (CSCO 302) 274¹³⁻²⁰.

² See Grillmeier: Julian 'placed the persisting static qualities on the same level as the *one energeia*.' *Christ II*² 86.

³ Grillmeier: 'The stronger ... the unmingledness of the properties was put in relief, all the more one appeared to approach the two-natures teaching of Chalcedon.' *Christ II*² 94.

agreed in condemning Julian's views on this topic. Severus, for example, declared him a follower of Eutychius and Manes.¹ He condemned this kind of Monenergism:

The phantasiasts, however ..., (= to whom Severus also ascribed Julian) were of the opinion that it is sufficient to say the following: If the Logos of God really transformed the assumed body into his own δόξα and ἐνέργεια and infused into it every which is his, then this (body) would be elevated above suffering and be immortal from the first moment of the union.²

3.1.4. SERGIUS THE GRAMMARIAN

Another Monophysite theologian of the epoch, Sergius the Grammarian³, who was, like Julian of Halicarnassus, simultaneously a disciple and an adversary of Severus, developed his own conception of Christ's single *energeia*. Like Julian, Sergius disagreed with Severus on Christ's property. This property is single and cannot contain any duality within it. To speak about two properties means to introduce two natures: 'Every property belongs to an underlying nature, and if we speak of two properties, we are obliged also to speak of two natures.'⁴ Sergius insisted on the single property, because he did not recognize any duality in Christ's nature. There cannot be any duality,

¹ See Severus, *censul* (CSCO 245) 125³¹-126¹².

² Severus, *apolPhilal* (CSCO 319) 34¹²⁻²⁰/Grillmeier, *Christ II*² 85.

³ The origins and biography of Sergius remain unknown. It is only possible to guess that he was a philosopher and a private scholar who stepped in to the field of theology. Grillmeier calls him 'the amateur theologian.' *Christ II*² 111. See Lebon, 'La christologie' 429 no. 14, 445, 474-476, 495, 520f., 537f., 548-554; Frend, *The Rise* 206 n. 2, 209; Torrance, *Christology* 6-7; Grillmeier, *Christ II*² 111-126.

⁴ *adSerg* (CSCO 119) 71-72/Torrance, *Christology* 38.

because the very essence (οὐσία) of Christ for Sergius was one. The teaching about one essence in Christ was a special point of Sergius' picture of Christ.¹ He identified the notions of nature (φύσις) and essence (οὐσία) and denied accepting any diversity in them:

The words φύσις and οὐσία mean the same as far as we are concerned, the one being derived from πεφυκέναι and the other from εἶναι and you, O Theologian, agree with me (on this). For you have said somewhere in (your) letter, 'Where composition and natural coming-together of *ousiai* or of natures is constituted.' Therefore, if we teach 'from two natures (φύσεις), one nature (φύσις) of the Word incarnate,' how do we sin against the mystery, if, by means of words with the same meaning, we fulfil the same doctrine, (in saying) that from two *ousiai* there is one *ousia* of the Word incarnate? But this 'incarnate' I have omitted, in as much as it is frequently declared, but I do not dissolve the composition because of this ... I urge you, O Father, to endure for a little my presumption with regard to the precision of the philosophers; even if they are outside our fold, we shall greatly clarify the explanation. Among these philosophers, Aristotle, who is called νοῦς, said these words somewhere ...: 'But *ousia* is, if one will speak with an example, such as man, horse.'² But it is not the case that he does not acknowledge the composition of the living creature because of this. For everything which is simple is understood, rather than falling under the senses. Therefore how do I defraud the truth, when I call the incarnate Word '*ousia*,' and understand this (*ousia*) (to be) incarnate?³

One nature-essence of Christ implies one property and one *energeia*, which therefore are also free of any diversity.⁴ The single *energeia* of Christ is qualitatively new and could not be identified either with purely divine or purely human *energeia*. He writes in his *Apologia*:

You see how some natures receive their (properties) and activities not cut apart or separately recognized, but the divinity and humanity of the Word who has incarnate appear together. Let them show me what was done after the Incarnation (which) was purely human. And I will not say a tear, for that came

¹ See Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 111-126.

² Aristotle, *Cat* 4, 1b.27: CSCO 120, 115 n. 4.

³ *adSever* III (CSCO 120) 103¹²⁻¹⁷/Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 117.

⁴ See Torrance, *Christology* 38.

divinely, for he was immediately summoning Lazarus whom he pitied, and, though he was putrefying, the dead man became alive and made haste to run. They speak of sweat and perplexity in relation to the passion? But these things also (happened) divinely, and surpass our reasoning, so that by means of human passions he might lead men (to) impassibility. But what will they say about (his) death? Will he await this utterly human thing, which takes possession of the body? We are persuaded: thus God is he who preserved even the properties of the divinity, and suffered humanly. For because of this he also became a complete human being that he might bear our weakness, and giving (his) back on our behalf to scourging, he conferred honour upon the wound which the ancient (serpent) set against our soul.¹

Therefore, Sergius appears to be a Monenergist. His Monenergism was inspired by Severus. In its developed form, however, it is stricter than that of Sergius' teacher. The teaching of Sergius about one essence is believed to be inspired by the *Categories* of Aristotle.² However, it is possible that this was not the only source of his views. It is known that Sergius in his native town was in touch with some Dyophysites that had converted to Monophysitism. He taught them the basic principles of the anti-Chalcedonian dogma.³ Maybe in conversations with the converts he adopted a strict correspondence between the nature and its property and activity? Indeed, this 'zealot of the unity,' as he was characterized by Grillmeier⁴, and a faithful Monophysite, in his consideration of

¹ *adSerg* (CSCO 120) 140²⁵-141⁵/Torrance, *Christology* 232-233.

² Sergius recognized this himself, as it can be seen in the fragment from his third letter to Severus mentioned above; see A. Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 111).

³ See Torrance, *Christology* 6-7.

⁴ *Christ* II² 113.

the triplet nature-property-activity was closer to the Orthodox party than Severus.¹

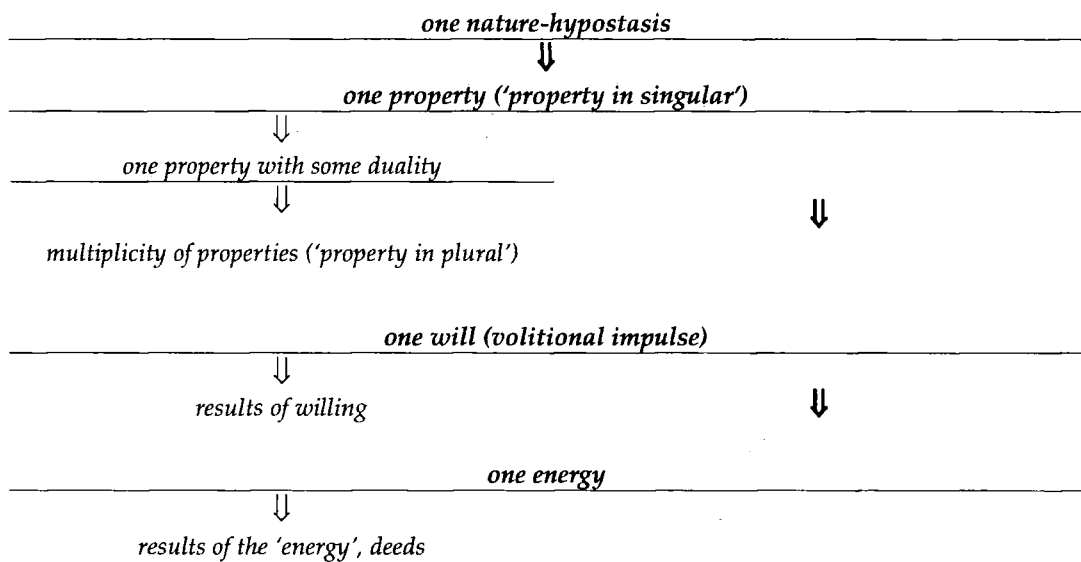
3.1.5. CONCLUSIONS

After what has been said, we may conclude that Severus' ultimate aim was to protect the unity of Christ. What makes him different from other Monophysite theologians of his epoch is that he was obliged to defend the unity not only in the terms of 'nature-hypostasis,' but also in the terms, scarcely known by his time, of *energeia*, 'will,' and 'property.' He was very categorical about the unity of *energeia*, but more relaxed about will and even more about property, admitting in them some duality. Again, he recognized some diversity in the single *energeia*. Thus, he clearly distinguished divine and human sets in the results of the *energeia* (deeds, works) and manifestations of the volitional impulse (wills).² He also made a distinction between the single property (property-in-the-singular) and multiplicity of properties (properties-in-the-plural). The natural property of Christ as such could be considered as a 'result' or a manifestation of the nature. Hence its extended diversity. It is possible to draw up the following scheme of how Severus considered the nature, the

¹ As I. Torrance correctly remarks, 'One can see the presupposition (of Sergius) that a property implies a nature, and that two properties, even if undivided, imply two natures, in the Dyophysite sense of two natures with their own activities.' *Christology* 39.

² This allowed A. Theodorou to draw the incorrect conclusion that 'ὁ Σεβήρος δὲν ἐπαγγέλλεται τὸν μονοενεργητισμὸν καὶ μονοθελητισμὸν.' Α Θεοδώρου. *Ἡ χριστολογικὴ ὁρολογία καὶ διδασκαλία Σεβήρου τοῦ Ἀντιοχείας*. Ἀθήναι, 1957, 19 n. 3.

property, the will, and the *energeia* of Christ. This is an approximate draft, because Severus was far from constructing strong and consistent schemes. His discourses contain inconsistencies and contradictions. Nevertheless, his views on the topic can be summarized as follows:



For Severus it was of less importance to maintain the vertical links between the categories, and more important to maintain the horizontal unity within the categories. He tried to avoid as much as possible an excessive duality within the categories and allowed it as far as the duality was not dangerous for the unity of the single nature. His opponents within the Monophysite party, however, observed the vertical links more carefully. This was one of the main grounds of disagreement between them and Severus. The same accordance between the categories was carefully observed by the Dyophysites of the epoch (as for example John the Grammarian). This attitude was inherited by the

following generation of the Monenergists and Monothelites, as well as by their opponents from the Dyenergist-Dyothelite camp.

3.2. THEOPASCHISM

‘Theopaschism,’ as discussed both in the western and in the eastern parts of the Roman Empire in the first half of the sixth century, should not be considered as a distinct sort of Monenergism or necessarily as Monenergism. It was rather a manifestation of the doctrines, which had been already shaped by that time. Therefore, there were two ‘theopaschisms’: a Severan and a Chalcedonian one. The former was Monenergist, whereas the latter was Dyenergist. They were two different (non-Chalcedonian and Chalcedonian) interpretations of the formula *unus ex Trinitate passus* (and/or *mortuus, crucifixus*). It should be said in the beginning that neither of them accepted any suffering of the Godhead. The term ‘theopaschism,’ therefore, at least in the case under our consideration, is rather technical.

Chalcedonian ‘theopaschism’ was initially supported and promoted by the Orthodox circles of the Near East. In 520, for example, the Orthodox monks and clergymen from Jerusalem, Antioch and *Syria Secunda* sent to the Emperor Justin a confession of faith, in which the formula *unus ex sancta et unius essentiae Trinitate* was suggested as an interpretation of the Chalcedonian faith.¹ The

¹ See Avellana. *Epistulae imperatorum, pontificum, aliorum inde ab a. CCCLXVII usque ad a. DLIII datae Avellana quae dicitur collectio. Recensuit, commentario critico instruxit, indices adiecit Otto*

major Orthodox authority who the Chalcedonian 'theopaschites' were referred to, was Patriarch of Constantinople Proclus (434-446).¹ Indeed, Proclus used the formula *unus ex Trinitate incarnatus* (not *passus* or *crucifixus*!) in his *Tome to Armenians*² and in the epistle to the Western bishops³. The formula occurs also in the *Second tome to the Armenians*.⁴ The formula *unus ex Trinitate passus/crucifixus* cannot be found in the surviving genuine works of Proclus. However, there is a series of testimonies by other authors to the fact that Proclus used this phrase. For example, John Maxentius in his *libellus of faith*⁵ cites three passages from Proclus' work 'To the Armenians,' in which the formulas *unus ex Trinitate est, qui crucifixus est*⁶, then *unus est de Trinitate, qui passus est*⁷, and finally *unus ergo de Trinitate est crucifixus*⁸ occur. These formulas are ascribed to Proclus

Guenther, [Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. vol. 35.]: Vindobonae, 1895 (*CorpAvel*), ep. 232^a 705⁶-706¹⁶.

¹ See Marcel Richard. 'Proclus de Constantinople et le theopaschisme.' *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 38 (1942): 303-331; Grillmeier, *Christ II*² 317-318. About Proclus see the article of A. Lumpe in *BBkl* http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/p/proklos_p_v_k.shtml [12/06/2003].

² *adArmen*: 'Τὸν ἕνα Τριάδος, σεσαρκῶσθαι.' ACO_I IV² 192⁷.

³ *epUniformis*: 'Unum ex Trinitate ... Deum Verbum factum hominem.' ACO_I IV² 66¹⁶⁻¹⁷.

⁴ *Tomus secundus ad Armenios* ACO_I IV² 72³⁸⁻³⁹. Eduard Schwartz believes that this tome is not authentic (*Konzilstudien, Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg*; 20. Strassburg: K.J. Trubner, 1914, 43-44).

⁵ *LibFid* X¹⁷⁻¹⁹.

⁶ *Maxentii* 16²¹⁵.

⁷ *Maxentii* 17²³⁹.

⁸ *Maxentii* 17²⁴⁵.

also by Innocent of Marona, who refers to the Patriarch's third *Book of Faith*.¹ Severus of Antioch² in the East and Facundus of Hermiane³ in the West ascribe to Proclus the confession of *unum ex Trinitate carne crucifixum*, referring to his fourth epistle to John of Antioch⁴. M. Richard, however, insists that Proclus never used the 'theopaschite' formula and the above-mentioned witnesses are not sufficient to support such a suggestion.⁵ Whatever truth of the matter, the Orthodox communities of the Near East regarded the formula as a heritage of Proclus. Having been confirmed by his authority, the formula was spread 'as the core-word and password of Orthodoxy,' as V. Schurr remarks.⁶

Apparently, the Scythian monks Maxentius, Achillius, John, Leontius, and Mauritius⁷, who came to Constantinople in 518 with the object of defending

¹ See *De his qui unum ex Trinitate Iesum Christum dubitant confiteri* (CPG 6847), ACO_I IV² 73¹⁻¹¹, 16.

² *contGram* III (CSCO 102) 247.

³ *proDefens* I 1⁹ (CCL90^a) 5⁶¹⁻⁶⁶.

⁴ CPG 5901. This fragment was placed in the *Doctrina Patrum* (*DoctPatr* 48) under the name of Cyril of Alexandria; other manuscripts ascribe the fragment to Basil and to Pamphilus of Abydos: 'Λέγοντες δὲ Θεὸν παθητὸν τουτέστι τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν αὐτὸν οὐ τούτῳ παθόντα ὥς ἦν ἀλλ' ὥς γέγονε τουτέστι τῇ οἰκείᾳ σαρκί. καὶ οὕτω κηρύττοντες οὐδ' ὅλως σφαλλόμεθα, ἐπεὶ περ καὶ τὸν ἕνα τῆς Τριάδος κατὰ σάρκα ἐσταυρώσθαι ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ θεότητα παθητὴν οὐ συκοφαντοῦμεν.'

⁵ See 'Proclus de Constantinople' 323-31; also Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 318 n. 9.

⁶ Viktor Schurr. *Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius im Lichte der 'skythischen Kontroversen'*, *Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte*, XVIII. Bd., 1. Hft. Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1935, 149. See on 'theopaschism' in general Henry Chadwick. *Boethius: the consolations of music, logic, theology and philosophy*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1981.

⁷ See Berthold Altaner. 'Der griechische Theologe Leontius und Leontius der skythische Monch. Eine prosopographische Untersuchung.' *Theologische Quartalschrift*, no. 127 (1947): 145-65; 'Zum Schrifttum der "skythischen" (gotischen) Monche.' *Historisches Jahrbuch der Gorres-Gesellschaft*, no. 72 (1953): 568-81; Fr. Glorie. *Maxentii aliorumque Scytharum monachorum necnon Ioannis*

Chalcedonian Orthodoxy, were under the influence of these circles.¹ In the capital city, they gained the protection of the general Vitalian, who was a relative of Leontius. Vitalian was one of the most influential politicians of that epoch. His protection allowed the monks to reach the highest political and ecclesiastical spheres of the capital and pursue their aims there. According to A. Grillmeier, they 'wanted to protect the Council of Chalcedon, probably in the face of Severan opponents, against the reproach of Nestorianism by producing a greater synthesis between the Cyril of the *mia-physis* formula and the unification christology of Proclus.'² The Scythian monks believed that the formula *Christus unus ex Trinitate incarnatus et passus* would be more emphatic about the identity and unity of Christ than the Chalcedonian definitions.³ They presented a *libellus* with an exposition of their views to the Patriarch and to the Pope's legates who had come to Constantinople in order to eliminate the Acacian schism. Their views, however, were rejected, and they were advised, apparently by Vitalian, to go to Rome and present their faith to the Pope. So they did. In Rome, however, they failed to win the Pope's favour and appealed to the senate and

Tomitanae urbis Episcopi opuscula, Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina; 85A. Turnholt: Brepols, 1978. They were monks from the region between the mouth of Danube and the Black Sea.

¹ V. Schurr, 'Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius' 149.

² Grillmeier, *Christ II* 321.

³ Because of this, they were accused of considering the Chalcedon as an insufficient rejection of Nestorianism. Thus, the deacon Dioscorus in his *Report* to Pope Hormisdas (*CorpAvel* ep. 224 n. 7, 686) accused the Scythians: 'May Your Beatitude (Hormisdas) know that these Scythians say that all who accept the Synod of Chalcedon are Nestorians, and say "the Synod is not sufficient against Nestorius", and one ought to accept the Synod as they themselves have expounded (it).'

the people of Rome. A strict-Chalcedonian senator, Faustus, in reply to the appeal of the monks, appointed the presbyter Trifolius to examine their teaching. The result of the investigation¹ was negative for the Scythians. Their 'theopaschism' was ranked together with the corresponding doctrines of the Arians and the Apollinarians. According to Trifolius, the Scythian formula is absent from the acts of the four ecumenical Councils, and in addition it implies suffering by the divinity, whereas the flesh remains untouched by *passio*. This decision and the generally unfavourable position of Rome, however, did not stop the monks, and they proceeded further. They turned to the African bishops, who had been exiled by the Vandals to Sardinia and wrote to them a letter² which was delivered by the deacon John. The confession contained in the letter was a revision of the *libellus fidei* presented by the monks to the Pope's legates in Constantinople in 519. Fulgentius of Ruspe, on behalf of the exiled African bishops, approved the Scythian formula, with the alteration of *unus de Trinitate crucifixus est* into *una de Trinitate persona crucifixa est*.³ Generally, however, the efforts of the Scythians to gain the confidence of the West failed. They came back to Constantinople and then returned to Scythia.

¹ Trifolius, *adFaust* (CCL 85) 137-139; E. Schwartz. *Publizistische sammlungen zum acacianischen schisma, Abhandlungen / Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Abteilung; n. F., Heft 10.* Munchen: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, in Kommission bei der C. H. Beck'schen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934, 115-117.

² *adEpisc* (CCL 85^a) 157-172; English translation with introduction: J. A. McGuckin, 'The "Theopaschite Confession"' 239-255.

³ *deIncarnGrat* ep. 17, 451-493.

The doctrinal experiments of the Scythian monks and their attempts to win the favour of Rome are not so important to this story, as the practical application of the Scythian 'theopaschite' formula made by Emperor Justinian. When the monks emerged in Constantinople for the first time (518) and, with the support of Vitalian, presented their views at the court and to the Church authorities, Justinian's initial attitude to their views was sceptical. When reporting on the mission of the papal legates who came to Constantinople in order to annul the Acacian schism, Justinian also wrote to Hormisdas about the Scythian monks who intended to visit him in Rome.¹ He in particular wrote that the Pope should receive them, listen to them, and then send them far away. With their empty chatter, the Scythian monks introduce novelties, which can be found neither in the acts of the four ecumenical Councils nor in the letters of Pope Leo. The monks therefore should be correspondingly punished and dismissed. These 'restless people' should not be allowed to disturb the unity and peace, which has been recently achieved after the Acacian schism. The letter was sent on the 29th of June 519.

In a few days, however, Justinian suddenly sent another letter², with entirely different evaluations of the Scythians. Now he asked the Pope to satisfy the inquiry of the 'pious monks' as quickly as possible and send them back to

¹ Justinian, *adHormisd* (*CorpAvel* ep. 187, 644-645; Mario Amelotti and Livia Migliardi Zingale. *Scritti teologici ed ecclesiastici di Giustiniano, Legum Iustiniani imperatoris vocabularium: Subsidia*; 3. Milano: A. Giuffrè, 1977, n. 3, 8).

² Justinian, *adHormisd* (*CorpAvel* ep. 191, 648-649; Amelotti-Migliardi Zingale, *Scritti* no. 4, 9).

Constantinople. He wrote that a positive answer by the Pope was crucial for the unity of the Church. Justinian wanted the Pope to receive the monks before his letter sent on the 29th of June arrived in Rome. He was afraid that his initial evaluations might impel Hormisdas to make a negative decision about the monks. Justinian was so eager to obtain the approval of the Pope that on the 15th of October 519 he sent another letter. In it, he again asked the Pope to answer the questions of the Monks as soon as possible and accept the 'theopaschite' formula.¹ Soon after this, in a report sent on the 19th of January 520, he again touched on the topic. This letter has not survived, but from the reply of the Pope, it is possible to conclude that Justinian's main point was again the 'theopaschite' formula.² On the 9th of July 520, Justinian once again promoted the theopaschite formula. In order to dissipate the fear of Rome that the formula *unus ex Trinitate passus/crucifixus* implied sufferings of the Godhead of Christ, Justinian interpreted *unus* as *persona*, and added that Christ suffered in the flesh.³ On the 9th of September 520, he again sent a letter to Hormisdas⁴, in which he requested a complete answer that would leave no doubts about the formula. To secure the Orthodox interpretation of the formula, Justinian once again inserted into it the conception of *persona*: 'Recto dicitur unus in Trinitate

¹ Justinian, *adHormisd* (*CorpAvel* ep. 188, 645-646; Amelotti-Migliardi Zingale, *Scritti* no. 5, 10).

² Hormisda, *adIust* (*CorpAvel* ep. 206). See F. Glorie, *Maxentii* (CCL 85^a) XXXIV n. 68.

³ See Justinian, *adHormisd* (= Hormisda, *CorpAvel* ep. 196, 656).

⁴ Justinian, *adHormisd* (*CorpAvel* ep. 235, 715; Amelotti-Migliardi Zingale, *Scritti* no. 8, 14).

cum Patre Spirituque sancto regnare, maiestatisque eius personam in Trinitate et ex Trinitate non infideliter credimus.¹ Despite all these efforts, the response of Rome to the letters was not satisfactory for Justinian. The Pope evaded giving evaluations of the formula.

In this story one of the puzzles is what made Justinian so quickly (only a few days after his letter on the 29th of June!) and so radically change his mind about the Scythian monks and why he so insistently asked the Pope to approve the theopaschite formula? The answer can be given from the general context of the Justinian's attempts to re-establish ecclesiastical unity with the Monophysites of the eastern and north-African regions of the Empire.² In this context, he tried to find common points and formulas, which could be used as a basis for re-unification of the imperial Church. In doing so, he tried to avoid the mistakes of his predecessors, Zeno and Anastasius. He did not try to solve contradictions between the two parties simply by banning discussions, and he did not call in question the decisions of Chalcedon. On the other hand, it was obvious to him, as it was obvious to his predecessors, that it was extremely difficult to reach any theological consensus on the basis of either the 'one nature' or the 'two natures' formulas. The solution was to find other points of

¹ Justinian, *ad Hormisd* (*Corp Avel* ep. 235, 715²²⁻²⁵; Amelotti-Migliardi Zingale, *Scritti* no. 8, 14¹⁴⁻¹⁶).

² See Eduard Schwartz. *Zur Kirchengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts*, *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* [Offprint]. Berlin: Tolpeltmann, 1935; A. Gerostergios. *The religious policy of Justinian I and his religious beliefs*, 1974, in which also a review of the relevant research is provided.

approach, which on the one hand would not contradict Chalcedon and on the other hand would be more or less acceptable to the two opposing groups. Such a point was found in the theopaschite formula.

Indeed, on the one hand the formula *unus ex Trinitate passus/crucifixus* was harmless for Orthodoxy, if understood in the sense of *communicatio idiomatum* and with the reservations made by Justinian in his letters to Hormisdas. Its Orthodoxy was approved by the authority of Patriarch Proclus. On the other hand, the non-Chalcedonians also accepted it. By the time of Justinian, they already had an established tradition of utilization of the formula. Thus, as early as the time of Chalcedon, a Eutychian monk Dorotheus presented it at the fourth session of the Council (17 October 451).¹ Peter the Iberian (453-488) was taught about it in a vision.² Emperor Zeno in the *Henotikon* (§ 7) used a variation of the formula: 'One of the Trinity ... became incarnate.'³ Emperor Anastasius I also confessed: 'I confess that one of the persons (hypostases) of the Trinity, God the Word ... became incarnate... was crucified.'⁴ It was approved by the great teachers of the Monophysitism, Philoxenus of Mabbough, and Severus of Antioch.⁵

¹ ACO₁ II¹ 120^{16-20, 23f}.

² Cf. John Rufus, *Plerophoriae* (from 515) ch. 37 (PO 8, 86-87).

³ See A. Grillmeier, *Christ* II¹ 253.

⁴ *confFid* (CSCO 88) 30¹⁶⁻²⁷.

⁵ *contGram* III, 29; see John of Beth-Aphthonia, *VitSeveri* 236-237. At the request of Severus an imperial delegation was sent to Patriarch Macedonius with an inquiry about his position

The formula was quite acceptable to Justinian, because it allowed him to avoid the issue of the natures of Christ. Thus, with the theopaschite formula a new issue was added to the theological dialogue. It was the issue of the activities or *energeiai* of Christ. Justinian himself, however, did not explore the issue of the *energeiai* in a pure form. He focused on the passions. If he consciously avoided exploring the issue of the *energeiai*, it was because he did not want to irritate the West and because he was, at least at the later stage of his theological career, a Dyenergist.¹ Therefore, he did not consider the issue of the *energeiai* to be promising in the dialogue with the Monenergist Severans. In addition, the formula *unus de Trinitate passus/crucifixus* could easily satisfy both Monenergists (Monophysites) and Dyenergists (Chalcedonians). Indeed, on the one hand, it perfectly fitted the non-Chalcedonian conception of the single *energeia*. The Monophysites could see in it the following logical consequence:

concerning the formula *unus de Trinitate incarnatus*. Macedonius rejected the formula. Severus, however, considered it as a criterion of the true faith.

¹ Much later, in his epistle to Patriarch of Alexandria Zoilus (541-551), Justinian confessed his adherence to the Tome of Leo and to Dyenergism: 'Βλέποντες γὰρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰ θαύματα, κηρύττομεν αὐτοῦ τὴν θεότητα· ὁρῶντες αὐτοῦ τὰ πάθη, οὐκ ἀρνούμεθα αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα· οὔτε δὲ τὰ θαύματα χωρὶς σαρκός, οὔτε τὰ πάθη χωρὶς τῆς θεότητος. καὶ ἔστι παράδοξον ὅτι αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ πάσχων καὶ μὴ πάσχων· πάσχων μὲν, ὅτι τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ ἔπασχε σῶμα, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι ἦν· μὴ πάσχων δέ, ὅτι φύσει Θεὸς ὢν ὁ Λόγος ἀπαθὴς ἦν· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ ἀσώματος ἦν ἐν τῷ παθητῷ σώματι, τὸ δὲ σῶμα εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν ἀπαθὴ Λόγον, ἀφανίζοντα τὰς ἀσθενείας αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος. ἐνεργεῖ γὰρ ἐκατέρα μορφή μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας, ὅπερ ἴδιον ἔσχηκε· τοῦ μὲν Λόγου κατεργαζομένου τοῦτο ὅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ Λόγου, τοῦ δὲ σώματος ἐκτελοῦντος ὅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ σώματος.' Amelotti-Migliardi Zingale, *Scritti* 58⁶⁻¹⁶.

one subject of sufferings



one subject of activities



one activity

On the other hand, it was acceptable to the Chalcedonians, because it was not necessarily implying one *energeia* and therefore left space for two *energeiai* to be inserted into its framework.

The theopaschism employed by Justinian was not identical with its initial form proposed by the Scythian monks and then promoted by them in the West. The Scythians insisted that *unus ex Trinitate* must not be changed into *una ex Trinitate persona*. For example, the leader of the Scythian group Maxentius in his *Dialogue against Nestorians* ascribes to a Nestorian the confession of 'one person of Christ from the Trinity' instead of 'one from the Trinity'.¹ This issue became a point of disagreement with the deacon Dioscorus whom the Scythians accused of confessing a heresy:

Here it is the right place for us to show how and why the heretics, of whom Dioscorus is one, proclaim Christ as one person of the Trinity, but do not condescend to confess Christ as one from the Trinity. They assent that Christ has the prosopon of the God-Logos, but is not himself the God-Logos ... In this wily way they indeed admit that Christ is a person of the Trinity; however, in no way do they want to confess him as one of the Trinity.²

¹ 'Non, unum ex Trinitate, sed, unam personam Christum ex Trinitate, melius arbitror confiteri.' *contNestor* (CCL 85^a) 105¹⁰⁰²⁻¹⁰⁰³.

² *Respons* (CCL 85^a) 134³⁴⁸-135³⁶⁸.

In such a way, they shifted the focus from the *crucifixus est* to the *unus ex Trinitate*. Justinian, on the contrary, was still focused on the *crucifixus/passus*. He easily admitted the substitution of *unus ex Trinitate* with *una persona*, in order to reassure Rome that nothing from the old heresy of the Theopaschites was implied.¹

Nevertheless, neither his version of the formula nor the version of the Scythian monks was approved by Hormisdas. This, however, did not prevent Justinian from seeking an acceptable compromise with the Monophysites on the basis of the 'theopaschite' formula. He returned to the formula after he became the sole ruler of the Empire in 527. Then the 'theopaschite' confession was implemented into the text composed probably in 527 and included in the *Codex Iustinianus*.² Justinian made a special promotion of the formula in the dialogue with the Monophysites. Thus, according to the information of Innocent of Marona about the Orthodox-Monophysite negotiations held in 532, the Severans accused their opponents of refusing 'that God suffered in the flesh or that he (Christ) was one of the Trinity and that the miracles and the sufferings did not belong to the one and the same person.'³ This accusation was used as an opportunity to promote the theopaschite formula. At a special audience of the

¹ See above the passages from his epistles to Hormisdas sent on the 9th of July and 9th of September 520.

² Justinian, *cum Recta* (Paul Krüger. *Corpus iuris civilis*. Ed. stereotypa 10a ed. Berolini: Apud Weidmannos, 1929, 6-7).

³ ACO_I IV² n. 82, 183.

participants of the dialogue with Justinian, the latter asked the Patriarch of Constantinople Epiphanius (520-535) and archbishop of Ephesus Hypatius (531 – c. 538), whether they believe that both the suffering and the miracles belong to the same person of Christ, that he is God who suffered in the flesh, and one of the Trinity. Hypatius gave a satisfactory answer to all the points raised by Justinian.¹

To show to the Monophysites how serious he was about the formula, Justinian issued on the 15th March 533 an edict addressed to the citizens of Constantinople, Trebizond, Jerusalem, and Alexandria.² The text contained the formula 'one of the Trinity, the God-Logos, became flesh': 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God and our God, who became flesh and a human being and was fixed to the cross, is one of the consubstantial Trinity.'⁴ Simultaneously, with the election of the new Pope John II (533-535), Justinian attempted again to win the support of the Roman see. On the 6th June 533, he sent a letter to the Pope⁵, who was asked to recognize the confession of the Scythian monks. John complied with the request of the Emperor and approved the theopaschite

¹ See ACO_I IV² ns. 83-86, 183.

² Justinian, *cumSalvator* I 1, 6 (Krüger 7^a-8^a; Amelotti-Migliardi Zingale, *Scritti* 32-35).

³ *cumSalvator* (Krüger 7^b; Amelotti-Migliardi Zingale, *Scritti*, 35⁵⁻⁶).

⁴ *cumSalvator* (Krüger 8^a; Amelotti-Migliardi Zingale, *Scritti*, 35¹⁴⁻¹⁵).

⁵ *Codex Iustinianus*, Krüger 11^b; *CorpAvel* ep. 84 (see also ep. 91 ns. 8-22).

confession.¹ He did so, however, after having received the additional clarification of some points of the formula, which sounded dubious to Rome.² The approval of the Pope secured Justinian's rear against accusations from the strict Chalcedonians and allowed him to take further steps in approaching the Monophysites. He tried to reach reconciliation not only in the field of doctrinal confessions, but also of worship. He ordered a specially composed hymn to be sung in the church of Constantinople, which became an integral part of both eastern and western liturgical traditions:

Only-begotten Son and Word of God, who, being immortal, accepted for our salvation to take flesh from the holy Mother of God and Ever-Virgin Mary, and without change became man; you were crucified, Christ God, by death trampling on death, being one of the Holy Trinity, glorified with the Father and the Holy Spirit: save us!

The hymn, into which the theopaschite formula was inserted, was acceptable equally to the Severans and the Chalcedonians. Finally, Justinian convinced the fifth ecumenical Council (553) to approve the formula. The tenth anathema of the Council condemns those who do not accept it: 'If anyone does

¹ See *adSenat* III 20^d; 21^d; 22^d.

² Justinian in his letter of the 6th June clarified these points and confessed: 'Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum unigenitum Filium Dei et Dominum nostrum incarnatum de sancto Spiritu, et ex sancta atque gloriosissima semper Virgine Dei Genitrice Maria hominem factum atque crucifixum, unum esse sanctae et consubstantialis Trinitatis, et coadorandum et conglorificandum Patri et Spiritui sancto, consubstantialem Patri secundum divinitatem, et consubstantialem nobis eundem ipsum secundum humanitatem, passibilem carne, eum demque ipsum impassibilem deitate.' PL 66, 15^{bc}. John in his letter to the senators of Constantinople expressed his satisfaction with the explanations received: 'Justinianus siquidem imperator filius noster, ut ejus epistolae tenore cognovistis, de his tribus quaestionibus orta certamina fuisse signavit, utrum unus ex Trinitate Christus et Deus noster dici possit: hoc est una de tribus personis sanctae Trinitatis sancta persona. An Deus Christus carne pertulerit impassibili deitate. An proprie et veraciter Mater Domini Dei nostri Christi Maria semper virgo debeat appellari.' PL 66, 20^{cd}.

not confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified in the flesh, is true God and Lord of glory and one of the holy Trinity, let him be anathema.¹

Justinian did his best to create all possible conditions to regain the Monophysites. Their response, however, was a poor and inadequate return for the Emperor's efforts. His promotion of the theopaschite formula, together with a series of other measures undertaken by Justinian, did not gain the confidence of the Monophysites. Even the most moderate Severan party refused to evaluate accordingly the theopaschite concession of the Orthodox. The theopaschite project of Justinian failed.² It was brought back to life, though in a significantly modified form, by another great unifier of the Church and the Empire, Heraclius.

3.3. A SPECIAL CASE OF SEVERAN MONENERGISM: AGNOETES

Severus took the oneness of the *energeia* of Christ for granted and did not feel himself obliged to prove it. He rather used it as a ready argument in his disputes concerning the oneness of Christ's nature. Nor did his followers make much effort to verify the issue of the single *energeia*. They inherited it from their teacher without further discussion and used it as a common basis for resolving

¹ Act 8, can. 10 (ACO₁ IV¹ 218, 242).

² See Gerostergios, *The Religious Policy* 250.

other theological questions with which they were challenged. One such question was the case of so-called 'Agnoetes' (Ἀγνοῆται).¹

The controversy was started by the Alexandrian deacon Themistius (ca 536-540), who was a follower of Severus.² His starting point was the doctrine of Julian of Halicarnassus about the incorruptibility of Christ's body. In order to defend the opposite point, Themistius asserted that the corruptibility of the body implied an incomplete knowledge of Christ as a human. According to Liberatus, Themistius claimed that 'si corpus Christi corruptibile est, debemus eum dicere et aliqua ignorasse, sicut ait de Lazaro.'³ The deacon presented his new doctrine to the Patriarch Timothy of Alexandria (517-535) who disapproved it. As a result, Themistius, together with his supporters, separated from the rest of the community and set up his own sect.⁴

The basis of the doctrine developed by Themistius was Severan and Monenergist. The majority of Greek witnesses to his views testify primarily to his Monenergism. Although these testimonies come from the later Monenergist-

¹ See A. Vacant. 'Agnoètes ou Agnoites.' *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 1: 586-596.

² See E. Amann, 'Thémistius.' *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 15 (1946): 219-222.

³ *Breviarium*, 19 (ACO₁ II⁵ 134). This information is confirmed by the Syriac sources. Thus, Patriarch Theodosius ascribes to Themistius the following statement: 'In the same way as we say the same person is passible and impassible, that he was hungry and was not hungry, we speak about other blameless passions.' *adTheodoram* 12. See also Constantine of Laodicea, *adTheodoram* 34-39.

⁴ 'Hoc Timotheus negavit dicendum, a cuius communione Themistius descisens schisma fecit, et ab ipso dicti sunt in Aegypto Themistiani.' Liberatus, *Breviarium* 19, ACO₁ II⁵ 134¹⁸⁻²². According to *deSectis* (1232), however, the doctrine was introduced only after 536, when the deposed Patriarch of Alexandria Theodosius arrived at Constantinople.

Monothelite controversy and therefore do not necessarily reflect the real theological priorities of Themistius, it is still clear that the question of the *energeia* remained important for Themistius. He in particular says in a fragment from the epistle to Marcellinus the presbyter and Stephan the deacon:

For the activity of Christ which proceeds through all divine and human (things) is not one and another, but one and the same, because it belongs to one and the same (Christ); therefore, Dionysius the Areopagite called it theandric.¹

In his teaching about the single *energeia*, Themistius followed the lines drawn by Severus. In particular, he inherited Severus' reference to the ps.-Dionysian concept of 'theandric *energeia*'², as is obvious from the passage above. The 'theandric *energeia*' for Themistius was neither purely divine, nor of course purely human. It retains its divine and human characteristics, though always remains one. In this Themistius also referred to Severus:

That the blessed Severus similarly desired to confirm the theandric *energeia* (not only the divine *energeia*) in that he says of Christ that 'the Same does some things divinely and others humanly.'³

Thus, some actions of Christ were done divinely and some humanly. But the activity itself always remained the same and single. This is because Christ as an agent is one:

¹ This fragment is preserved in the acts of the Lateran Council: ACO₂ I 144³⁸⁻⁴⁰.

² 'Themistius was defending his use of 'theandric *energeia*' by reference to Severus' statement that Christ does some of His deeds divinely and others of them humanly.' Paul Rorem and John Lamoreaux. *John of Scythopolis and the Dionysian corpus: annotating the Areopagite*, Oxford early Christian studies. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press, 1998, 12.

³ ACO₂ I 146⁵⁻⁷/Rorem & Lamoreaux, *John of Scythopolis* 12.

Although the activity in Christ sometimes was fitting for either divinity or humanity, it remained simply one – because the incarnate Word of God who acted in all (things), was one.¹

The will of Christ for Themistius was also one. Although some of its manifestations can be distinguished as divine and human, it is still single, because the subject of willing, Christ, is single. Themistius repeated the argument of his teacher, Severus, that two wills would necessarily clash with each other.² As *energeia* and will of Christ are single, so the knowledge is single as well.³ Themistius established a close conformity between these faculties of Christ's nature. Sometimes he even identified the *energeia* and the knowledge.⁴ He extended the characteristics of the *energeia* to the knowledge. As a result, the knowledge of Christ for him was single and theandric: 'As we have said many times, the activity and knowledge of the Logos is single.'⁵

¹ ACO₂ I 328²⁶⁻²⁸.

² In his evaluation of Christ's will, Themistius referred to the same passage from ps.-Athanasius' work *About the Incarnation and against the Arians* (*deIncarnContArian* 1021^{b-c}), which was quoted by Severus: 'Οὐ γὰρ ἐπείτοι ὁ ἱερὸς Ἀθανάσιος "δύο θελήματα" ἔφη "τὸν Χριστὸν δεικνύναι κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πάθους καιρὸν," ἤδη καὶ δύο θελήσεις αὐτῷ περιθήσομεν καὶ ταύτας μαχομένας ἀλλήλαις κατὰ τοὺς σοὺς τούτους συλλογισμούς, ἀλλ' εἰσόμεθα εὐσεβῶς τὴν ὡς ἑνὸς μίαν θέλησιν τοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ, πῇ μὲν ἀνθρωπίνως κινεῖσθαι, πῇ δὲ θεοπρεπῶς' ACO₂ I 326³¹⁻³⁴.

³ See: 'Μία μὲν γὰρ ἡ γνῶσις ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ θέλησις καὶ ἡ ἐνέργεια. καὶ γὰρ εἰς ἣν ὁ γινώσκων, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει τοι καὶ θέλων καὶ ἐνεργῶν' ACO₂ I 328¹¹⁻¹²; see also ACO₂ I 328⁴⁻⁷ (fr. 19); 328¹⁶⁻¹⁷ (fr. 21); 328³⁷⁻³⁸ (fr. 25); 330³⁻⁵ (fr. 26).

⁴ He wrote in his epistle to Markellus and Stephan: 'Τὸν αὐτὸν Χριστὸν ὡς Θεὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπον μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν γνῶσιν ἥτοι ἐνέργειαν.' ACO₂ I 330⁴⁻⁵.

⁵ ACO₂ I 146¹⁶⁻¹⁷; see also ACO₂ I 328³⁷⁻³⁸.

The conception of theandric knowledge, together with his teaching about the corruptibility of Christ's body, became the basis for Themistius' doctrine of incomplete and limited knowledge of Christ as man. In the single knowledge of Christ, Themistius distinguished two 'parts': divine and human. The former was complete, whereas the latter was incomplete and limited. It meant that Christ as man did not know everything which was known to him as God. Themistius and generally the Agnoetes found proofs for their views in Holy Scripture. In particular, they referred mainly to three passages. The first is when Christ asked about Lazarus: 'Where have you laid him?' (John 11, 34). The second: 'But of that day or that hour no one knows, not even the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but only the Father' (Mark 13, 32; Matt 24, 36). And the third was: 'And Jesus increased in wisdom and in stature' (Luke 2, 52). Sometimes the Agnoetes also referred to Mark 5, 9: 'And Jesus asked him, "What is your name?" He replied, "My name is Legion; for we are many"'; Mark 11, 13: 'And seeing in the distance a fig tree in leaf, he went to see if he could find anything on it. When he came to it, he found nothing but leaves, for it was not the season for figs'; Luke 8, 45: 'And Jesus said, "Who was it that touched me?"; Matt 20, 32: 'And Jesus stopped and called them, saying, "What do you want me to do for you?"; John 18, 4: 'Then Jesus, knowing all that was to befall him, came forward and said to them, "Whom do you seek?"'¹ Anti-

¹ See A. van Roey and Pauline Allen. *Monophysite texts of the sixth century*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*; 56. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Orientalistiek, 1994, 9-10.

Agnoetes considered these passages as manifestations of the *œconomia*. Christ was showing his ignorance only in order to emphasize the reality of his humanity. In fact, however, he knew everything. Themistius, on the contrary, considered the ignorance of Christ demonstrated in the passages as real. He believed it to be one of the blameless passions of Christ.¹ It was very difficult to accept simultaneously the single activity and the human ignorance of Christ. It seems that Themistius rather mechanically joined these two conceptions.² This was one of the main points of his adversaries who accused him of introducing dangerous divisions in Christ.³

3.4. THE REFUTATION OF THE AGNOETES BY THE SEVERANS

3.4.1. THEODOSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA

The chief figure in the refutation of the Agnoetes and one of the most influential Severan theologians of the sixth century was the Patriarch of

¹ See the above-mentioned testimony of Theodosius: 'In the same way as we say the same person is possible and impossible, that he was hungry and was not hungry, we speak about other blameless passions.' *adTheodoram* 12. See also Constantine of Laodicea, *adTheodoram*, 34-39. The question of whether Christ's ignorance is blameless or blameful was raised by Theodore the monk (see his *Short Refutation* edited and translated from Syriac into Latin by Van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite texts* 78-102). The point of Theodore was that ignorance is blameful, and therefore it must not be ascribed to Christ.

² As Van Roey and Allen remark, 'Patently this doctrine is more easily accommodated by a two-nature christology.' *Monophysite texts* 11. See also Amann, 'Thémistius' 220.

³ See, for instance, a passage from the *Address to the Emperor Justinian* by Anthimus of Tribizonde: 'For to say that the God-Logos, insofar as he is God-Logos, does not know the last day and the (last) hour (cf. Matt 24, 36; Mark 13, 32), is full of Arian, or rather Judaic impiety. (To say that he does not know it) in his humanity makes a division of the one Lord into two persons, two Sons, two Christs, two natures and two hypostases, and into their separate activities and properties and a complete (division).' Roey & Allen, *Monophysite texts* 65⁴⁻¹⁰.

Alexandria Theodosius (535-566).¹ The teaching he articulated had an impact upon the Monophysite communities to the extent that the Monophysites of Alexandria were sometimes named after him. In particular, the communities involved in the attempt of Alexandrian union (633), were identified as Theodosians. Therefore, it is important for the further history of the Monenergist-Monothelite controversy to research the relevant teaching of Theodosius.

He was above all Severan. According to the evaluation given by A. Grillmeier, what Cyril was to Severus, the latter was to Theodosius.² However, in some points their positions were different. Sometimes Theodosius stood closer to, and sometimes further from, the Chalcedonian doctrine. In particular, Theodosius occasionally used the formula 'one incarnate person (*par̄sopā*) and one hypostasis (*qnomā*) of the God-Logos' instead of Severus' favourite 'one incarnate nature of the God-Logos.'³ Another expression used by Theodosius, which also sounds more Chalcedonian, was the formula 'one out of the Trinity, the hypostatic Word of God the Father.'⁴ On the other hand, while the single *energeia* of Christ for Severus was 'theandric,' for Theodosius it was strictly divine. He emphasized this point in order to show his disapproval of

¹ About sources on his life see Grillmeier, *Christ II*⁴ 53 n. 2. About his works see CPG 7130-7159.

² See Grillmeier, *Christ II*⁴ 53.

³ Grillmeier, *Christ II*⁴ 57. See Theodosius of Alexandria, *adSever* (CSCO 103) 5¹⁴⁻¹⁵.

⁴ *adSever* (CSCO 103) 4²⁰⁻²¹.

Themistius, who on the basis of ps.-Dionysius' formula built his doctrine of the ignorance of Christ's humanity. Not only the *energeia* of Christ, but also his will was for Theodosius single and divine.¹ In this Theodosius was stricter than Severus and, as a result, stood further from the Chalcedonian faith.

Theodosius made a distinction between the blameless passions of Christ and the rest of the Christ's activity. To him, it is possible to say 'in alio et in alio' as regards the hunger, thirst, or tiredness, but not concerning either activity or knowledge.² At the same time, the Patriarch characterized the blameless passions as divine (θεοπρεπή). He partly associated them with the rest of the divine *energeia*³, though simultaneously reserved a significant difference between the former and the latter. Thus, he avoided calling them *energeiai*. To him, they rather signified lack of activity which was fulfilled with the divine

¹ See, for example: 'Μίαν δὲ εἶναι τὴν θεοπρεπῆ ἐνέργειαν τε καὶ θέλησιν κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ θεότητα καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνθρωπότητα οἱ ἅγιοι καὶ σοφοὶ πατέρες ἐξήρουν.' *adTheodoram* (ACO² I 326²⁴⁻²⁵).

² 'Relate enim ad passiones naturales et inculpabiles dicimus eundem esse passibilem et impassibilem, in alio (autem) et alio, sicut sancti pateres dixerunt i.e. passibilem in humanitate, impassibilem autem in divinitate. Et rursus eundem dicimus simul mortalem et immortalem, mortalem in humanitate, et immortalem in divinitate; (et dicimus eum) esurivisse et non esurivisse, sitivisse et non sitivisse, fatigatum esse et non fatigatum esse; et de omnibus aliis passionibus naturalibus similiter dicimus. Relate autem ad activitatem – activitas est enim cognitio et non minus praecognitio futurorum – quia tradiderunt nobis sancti patres unam esse hanc (activitatem, nempe activitatem) divinam in Christo composito, non iam traditum est dicere eum in alio et alio operari et non operari, cognoscere et non cognoscere ... Relate autem ad passiones naturales (quae dicuntur) de Christo, traditum esse dicere 'in alio et alio,' nequaquam autem relate ad activitatem et sapientiam eius divinam, nequaquam indigeo multis sermonibus, quia omnes sancti patres nec una vice haec dixerunt in suis scriptis.' *adTheodoram* 55, 476-496.

³ See, for instance: 'Ὡς λοιπὸν καὶ ἐνέργειαν εἶναι τοῦ συναμφοτέρου θεοπρεπῆ μίαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐνὸς εἶναι καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φάμεν τὰ θεοπρεπῆ πάντα καὶ ἀδιάβλητα πάθη.' *adTheodoram* (ACO² I 326¹⁹⁻²⁰).

energeia. Therefore, we may conclude together with A. Grillmeier that Theodosius in his picture of Christ 'cannot grant to Christ's human, intellectual faculties an active role, but only a passive, purely instrumental one. All *energeia* and *dynamis* in Christ are from the divine side of Jesus and flow from above down below. In this way the "unmingled and undivided" of christology in general, even of the non-Chalcedonian type, is endangered and glossed over. In this picture of Christ, the divine activity is almost as powerful as in Apollinarianism, even if the human soul is always stressed.'¹ Theodosius insisted that the *energeia* is strictly divine. In such a way he wanted to underline the divine character of the knowledge of Christ, given the knowledge is one of the activities.²

Theodosius agreed that the human nature as such is subject to ignorance. This ignorance was appropriated by Christ, together with the rest of the humanity.³ As a result, the human ignorance vanished, and the animate flesh acquired 'all divine holiness, efficacy and also wisdom and omniscience.' Since then, it is possible to distinguish between the two knowledges only

¹ Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 374.

² See, for instance: 'Καὶ μίαν εἶναι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ ἐνὸς Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν θεοπρεπῇ σοφία, γινώσιν τε τῶν ὅλων καὶ εἰδησιν κατὰ τὸ συναμφότερον, τουτέστι κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ θεότητα καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνθρωπότητα, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐνέργειαν μίαν ὁμολογούμεν θεοπρεπῇ, ὡς ἤδη προλέλεκται' *adTheodoram* (ACO₂ II¹ 106²⁻⁵).

³ See: 'Dicimus ergo eum sibi appropriasse etiam imperfectionem ignorantiae nostrae quemadmodum dignatus est sibi appropriare nostram servitutem et ignominiam et ungi, rogare et accipere.' *adTheodoram* 50, 311-313.

theoretically, exactly as in the case of the Christ's nature.¹ As for the passages of the Holy Scripture, in which Christ seems to be ignorant about certain things, Theodosius interpreted them as manifestations not of real ignorance, but of the *oconomia* of salvation. He referred to the authority of Cyril, who says the same:

The 'Father' (Cyril) shows clearly that the Emmanuel did not have ignorance in reality, not even according to his humanity; only through appropriation did he hide himself in accordance with the economy of salvation.²

3.4.2. ANTHIMUS OF TREBIZOND

Another Severan theologian who was among the first to react to the new teaching was a bishop of Trebizond, Anthimus, who for less than a year served as a Patriarch of Constantinople (June 535 – March 536), before he was deposed by Justinian.³ John of Ephesus places him among the forefathers of the Monophysites, alongside with Severus, Theodosius, Sergius, and Paul.⁴

¹ See: 'Sed quia non simpliciter merus homo erat sicut nos – licet homo factus sit sicut nos, cum maneret quod erat i.e. Deus, – non dicimus eum in veritate orbatum esse eis nec in sua humanitate, si quidem caro eius animate obtinuit per unionem Verbi Dei ad se omnem divinam sanctitatem, efficacitatem et etiam sapientiam et omnium scientiam.' *adTheodorum* 50-51, 318-323. A. Grillmeier remarks: 'Theodosius applies to the domain of the *energeia* precisely Cyril's and Severus' linguistic rules with regard to *physis*: as one can speak of two natures before the union in *theoria*, and after the union, however, only of one, so too this holds true with regard to Christ's knowledge. It is only in *theoria* that I may speak simultaneously of Christ's omniscience and ignorance, as long as I consider the natures in themselves.' Grillmeier, *Christ II* 373.

² *adTheodorum* 51, 336-339. Theodosius refers here to the *Thesaurus* (377⁵³⁻⁵⁴): 'Christ acts in accordance with the economy of salvation, when he says that he does not know the hour, although in reality he does.'

³ Ernst Honigmann. 'Anthimus of Trebizond, Patriarch of Constantinople (June 535 - March 536).' *Studi e Testi* 173 (1953): 185-193.

⁴ *Vitae* 684, 686.

Anthimus, in agreement with Theodosius, spoke about one hypostasis, one incarnate nature of the God-Logos, one will, one *energeia* and because of this, of one wisdom and one knowledge in Christ:

If there is only one hypostasis, one nature of the incarnate God-Logos, then without doubt there is also only one will, one activity, one wisdom and one knowledge for both (ἐν θέλημα καὶ μία ἐνέργεια, δηλονότι καὶ μία σοφία καὶ μία γνῶσις τοῦ συναμφοτέρου).¹

He admitted a distinction between the divine and human knowledge of Christ only theoretically. He in particular referred to the theological speech on the Son of Gregory of Nazianzus²:

See how this wise teacher explained the word of the Gospel, saying: 'if one separates the visible from the intelligible,' and taught us that we can attribute ignorance to him (Christ) when we make use of a division *in theoria* about the one composite Christ and ask about the content of the substance of his animated flesh.³

In reality, however, the knowledge of Christ is single and divine, similarly to the *energeia*:

Because we also know that the property of the divine intellectual activity (νοεῖας θεοπρεποῦς ἐνεργείας) consists in the knowledge of all things, we are taught that there is only one and the same divine activity; how should we also not confess that there is in the one Christ only one and the same knowledge of all things (as we have already said) according to his divinity and according to his humanity?⁴

We should conclude here with the words of A. Grillmeier: 'Anthimus thus presents a picture of Christ conceived totally from above. As the order and

¹ *adIustin*, ACO₂ II¹ 372²⁻⁵.

² 'Ἡ πᾶσιν εὐδηλον, ὅτι γινώσκει μὲν, ὡς θεός, ἀγνοεῖν δέ φησιν, ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἂν τις τὸ φαινόμενον χωρίσῃ τοῦ νοουμένου;' *deFilio* 15¹²⁻¹⁴.

³ Van Roey & Allen, *Monophysite texts*, 65¹³⁻¹⁷.

⁴ *adIustin*, ACO₂ II¹ 372¹⁷⁻²¹.

sole power to raise the dead proceeds from the Logos, mediated by the simultaneous corporal contact, so too the one knowledge, the divine omniscience, comes from the Logos into Christ's humanity.¹

3.4.3. COLLUTHUS

The set of doctrinal views and arguments developed by Theodosius was readily adopted within his congregation and led to the emergence of some theological replicas. One was produced by a certain Colluthus², who after the death of Theodosius (566) wrote an apology in defence of his views.³ Colluthus in particular spoke about the single and exclusively divine *energeia* of Christ, referring to the authority of Theodosius:

In this sense, our blessed Pope Theodosius, having implied not the difference in results (τῶν ἀποτελουμένων διαφοράν), but praising the same energetic power (αὐτὴν τὴν ἐνεργητικὴν δύναμιν) of the Saviour, also declared one divine activity in Christ.⁴

It should be remarked here, that Colluthus made a distinction between the *energeia* as such (ἐνεργητικὴ δύναμις) and its results (ἀποτελούμενα).⁵ The former is strictly one, whereas in the latter may be observed a certain duality:

¹ Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 368.

² See Hans Georg Beck. *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft; Abt 12*. Munchen: Beck, 1959, 395.

³ CPG 7298.

⁴ ACO₂ I 330²¹⁻²³.

⁵ See also ACO₂ I 332³⁻⁵.

some deeds may have the characteristics of divinity, whereas others may be attributed to the humanity of Christ. In another fragment preserved in the acts of the Lateran Council, Colluthus distinguishes between the activity and its results, as between 'ἐνέργεια' and 'ἐνεργήματα'.¹ He also spoke about one will of Christ, which, however, sometimes moved divinely and sometimes humanly. Colluthus took the single will as a matter of fact and used it in order to prove one knowledge of Christ:

There is one will of Christ, although it moves sometimes divinely and sometimes humanly. In the same way and not otherwise, Christ had one knowledge.²

3.4.4. CONSTANTINE OF LAODICEA

Another follower of Theodosius, Constantine the bishop of Laodicea³, used the same arguments as Theodosius in his address to the Empress Theodora⁴. For instance, he repeated the statement of the Alexandrian Patriarch that only in regard to the passions of Christ can we say *in alio et in alio*, but not in regard to the one activity or one knowledge, which remain strictly one.⁵ He

¹ ACO₂ I 330³².

² ACO₂ I 330²⁷⁻²⁸.

³ See Ernst Honigmann. *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI^e siècle*, *Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*; v. 127. Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1951, 36-38.

⁴ *adTheodoram* 68.

⁵ See: 'Pulchre ergo et prudentissime dicunt patres de passionibus (Christi) eum "in alio et in alio" passum esse et non passum esse. De operatione autem et scientia non amplius possumus invenire eos dicere "in alio et in alio." Unam est enim et eadem operatio et scientia utriusque,

also confirmed that only a theoretical distinction between the two knowledges of Christ is acceptable. In saying this, he followed Anthimus and referred to the speech on the Son by Gregory of Nazianzus.¹

Concluding, the Severan adversaries of Themistius accused the latter of deviating from the doctrine of their common teacher Severus. They built their arguments on the basis of one divine *energeia*. If the *energeia* (together with will) is single and divine, the knowledge, which is just a kind of the *energeia*, is also single and divine. The human nature as such is indeed subject to ignorance. However, after the hypostatic union the omniscience of the Godhead was spread through the whole composite nature of Christ. Henceforth only a theoretical distinction between the two knowledges was possible. The Scripture passages which the Agnoetes referred to (John 11, 34; Mark 13, 32; Matt 24, 36; Luke 2, 52; Mark 5, 9; Mark 11, 13; Luke 8, 45; Matt 20, 32; John 18, 4), were explained as examples not of real ignorance, but of 'economic' ignorance. They do not really mean that Christ was ignorant of what he was asking, but that he just wanted to emphasize his real humanity.

However, the conception of the single divine *energeia* of Christ developed by the opponents of Themistius was not quite Severan. Severus, as was shown

licet diversa sint quae facta et dicta sunt ab uno Domino, sicut convenit fini economiae eius inhumanationis.' *adTheodoram* 71³⁴⁻³⁹.

¹ See *adTheodoram* 70²⁵⁻²⁶; *deFilio* 15¹²⁻¹⁴.

earlier, considered the single activity within the context of Dionysian formula of 'theandric *energeia*.' In this sense, Themistius was more Severan than his opponents. As for the rest of the arguments concerning the single knowledge of Christ and the inferred omniscience of Christ's humanity, the accusations against Themistius that he had deviated from the path of the thought of Severus seem to be just.

3.5. MONOPHYSITE MONENERGISM ON THE EVE OF AND DURING THE CONTROVERSY

The Monophysite circles of Egypt, whose doctrinal basis was formed mainly under the influence of Severus, inherited from him belief in the single *energeia* of Christ. This belief became a feature of their self-identity, which was never doubted. Thus, we meet a confession of the single *energeia* in the works of the later Monophysite hierarchs of Egypt. For example, Theodore, who was elected Monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria in 575, nine years after the death of Theodosius¹, reproduced in his letter to the Patriarch of Antioch Paul (*adPaul*) the issues of the Severan-Theodosian theology and in particular anathematized the Tome of Leo, confessing the single *energeia* of Christ.² Another Monophysite

¹ See more details about him: Grillmeier, *Christ II*⁴ 71.

² ACO₂ I 386³⁻⁹.

Patriarch of Alexandria, Damian (578-605)¹, in his letter to Jacob the Baradeus (*adBarad*) also proclaimed 'one *energeia*' of Christ:

We proclaim not two Christs nor two sons nor two natures nor two activities, but one single Son and one single nature of the incarnate Word, one single hypostasis, one single person, and one single activity.²

So did another important figure of that period, the Patriarch of Alexandria Benjamin (626-665).³ Among the surviving fragments of his writings⁴, there is a set of excerpts from his homily on the wedding at Cana, which represents his ideas concerning the problem of the *energeiai* of Christ. On the one hand, Benjamin recognized human activities in Christ: 'I believe that everything that human beings do, my Saviour himself did, except only sin.'⁵ The Patriarch speaks of the real hunger, thirst, and joy of Christ.⁶ On the other hand, these activities constitute one *energeia*. In his sixteenth paschal letter⁷ (end

¹ See R. Y. Ebied, 'Peter of Antioch and Damian of Alexandria.' In *A Tribute to Arthur Vööbus: studies in early Christian literature and its environment, primarily in the Syrian East*. Chicago: Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 1977; Jean Maspero et al. *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie: depuis la mort de l'empereur Anastase jusqu' à la réconciliation des églises jacobites* (518-616), *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des hautes études, IVe section, Sciences historiques et philologiques*; 237. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Edouard Champion, 1923; Martin Jugie. *Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientalium ab ecclesia catholica dissidentium*. Parisiis: Sumptibus Letouzey et Ane, 1935, 456, 592 ff.

² *adBarad* II 327^b.

³ See K. Pinggéra, 'Benjamin I,' *BBKl*
http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/b/benjamin_i_p_v_k.shtml [03/12/2002].

⁴ See Grillmeier, *Christ* II⁴ 83.

⁵ Müller, *Die Homilie* 118.

⁶ See Müller, *Die Homilie* 118-120.

⁷ See in Caspar Müller. *Die Homilie über die Hochzeit zu Kana und weitere Schriften des Patriarchen Benjamin I von Alexandrien, Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*.

643 – beginning 644), Benjamin confessed one nature, one hypostasis, and one *energeia* of Christ. In order to prove this statement, he mentioned four paradoxes which occurred at the marriage in Cana. He, who invites everyone to his true marriage, is invited himself; he, who created men according to his image, sits at the table with them; he, who created wine, drinks it himself; he, who created bread, eats it himself.¹ What Benjamin wanted to stress by introducing these paradoxes was the oneness of Christ as a subject of all activities. It is interesting that Benjamin counts among other heretics Cyrus of Alexandria.²

An important point of Benjamin's discourse was his polemic against the 'Theopaschites.' He touched on this issue in the sixteenth paschal letter and used an 'astonishingly un-Monophysite'³ image. According to Benjamin, the way that the flesh of Christ was suffering whereas his Godhead was not, can be illustrated by the image of iron and fire. When a hammer strikes an iron, the stroke does not affect the fire. Because of this, Benjamin was accused of

Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Heidelberg: Carl Winter - Universitätsverlag, 1968, 302-351. According to Graf, the fragments of the letter are contained in two Coptic *florilegia*: *Priceless Pearl* (Georg Graf, 'Zwei dogmatischen Florilegien der Kopten.' *Orientalia christiana periodica* 3 (1937), 68 n. 30) and *Confession of the Father*. (G. Graf, 'Zwei dogmatischen Florilegien der Kopten' 394 n. 208).

¹ See Müller, *Die Homelie* 86-88.

² See Müller, *Die Homelie* 82-84.

³ See Grillmeier, *Christ* II⁴ 85.

admitting a compromise with the Chalcedonians.¹ Benjamin replied to these accusations that the fact that the Chalcedonians say the same things does not mean that this is necessarily wrong. Thus, Benjamin accepted some particular views of the Chalcedonians.² However, he did not of course accept the teaching about the two natures of Christ.

In conclusion, by the time of the Alexandrian union, the Monophysite Monenergism had been matured and became a cornerstone of the Monophysite doctrine. It was Severan Monenergism, with significant influence from, and some corrections made by, Theodosius. The wide circles of the Theodosians – the anti-Chalcedonian community of Egypt – confessed one single *energeia* of Christ. This *energeia* was not composite but entirely divine, as Theodosius stressed. The Theodosians did not reject the human activities and passions of Christ. They, together with their teachers, condemned those who ‘godlessly’ insisted that the body of Christ was incorruptible. They also believed that the manifestations of Christ’s humanity were rather weak and passive and therefore were absorbed by the overwhelming activity of the Logos. Of course, these manifestations could not introduce any diversity to the monolith of the single *energeia*. The Theodosians also believed in the single will and single knowledge of Christ, which were entirely divine, similarly to the *energeia*.

¹ Müller, *Die Homelie* 346.

² Müller, *Die Homelie* 346-348.

4. HISTORY

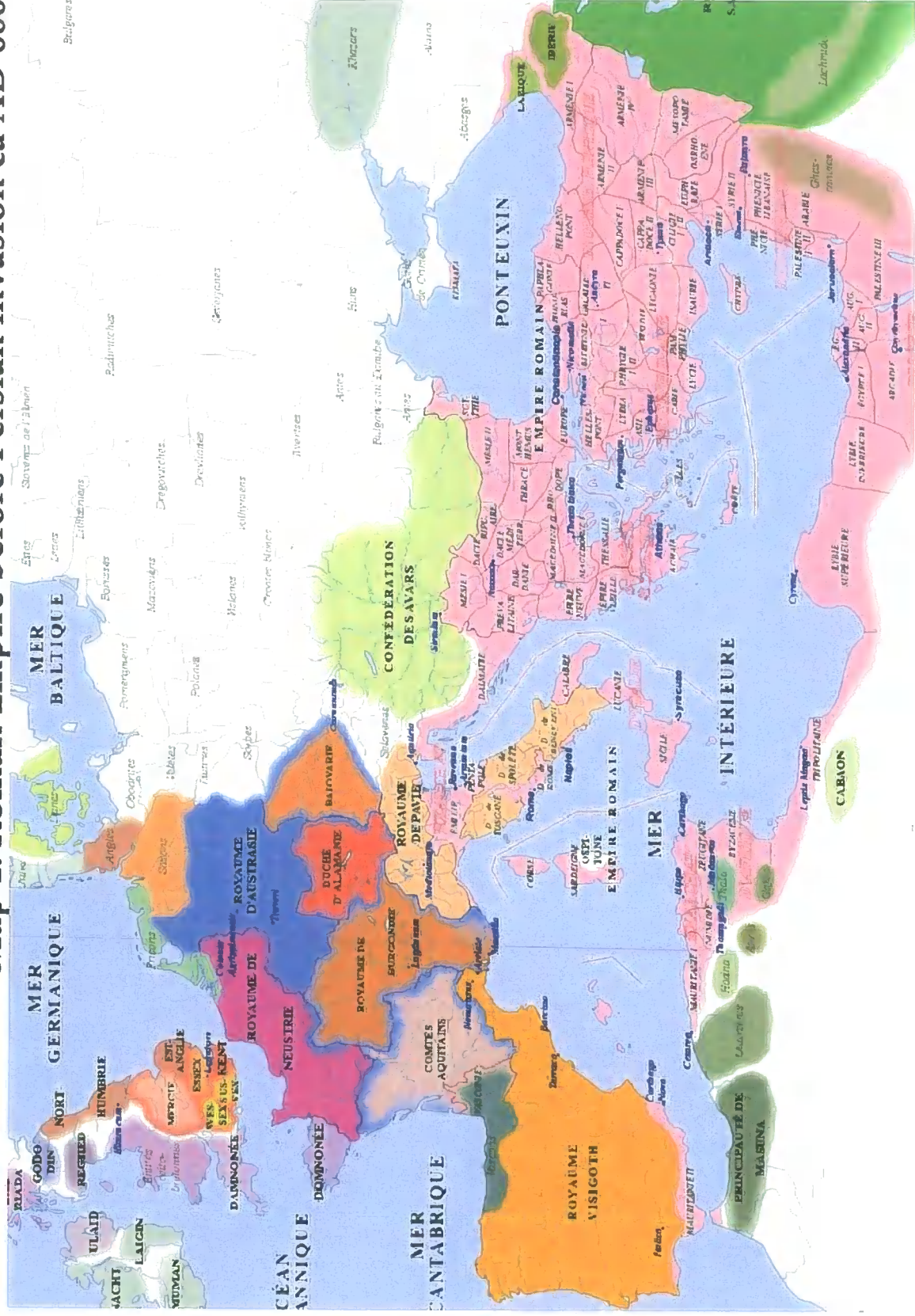
4.1. HISTORICAL PREMISES

When Heraclius ascended the imperial throne in 610, he had to face a complicated tissue of internal and external crises caused by the poor condition of the economy, the dissatisfaction of the populace after the unhappy years of Phokas' reign, civil war, and the invasion launched by the Persian king Khusrau II Parviz in 609.¹ The Persians achieved significant success in their campaign against the Romans, and soon after the launch of their campaign became a serious threat to Byzantium. In 609-612, they broke the Byzantine defence in Caucasus, captured Byzantine Armenia, and pushed on into Cappadocia. They also advanced on the Mesopotamian front, where they captured Tella, Amida, Edessa, Ra's al- 'Ayn, and then passed into the Anatolian plateau. Soon a new outbreak of Persian attacks followed which significantly worsened the situation. In 613-614, the Persians invaded Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, so that such key cities as Antioch, Damascus, and Jerusalem fell into their hands.² The city that probably suffered most, and which was certainly the greatest loss to the Romans, was Jerusalem. The Persians ruined it and took away to Persia some

¹ In my description of the events of civil and above all military history I prefer the chronology of the most recent research of W. Kaegi, *Heraclius*.

² Nicephorus, maybe exaggeratedly, describes the Persian army as having 'devastated the entire oriental part of the empire.' *Short history, Dumbarton Oaks texts*; 10. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, Research Library and Collection, 1990, 6, 44-45.

Map 1: Roman Empire before Persian invasion ca AD 600



Source: An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors. <http://www.roman-emperors.org/big600.htm> [25/07/2003]. Designed by Christos Mueslii.

relics of special value for the Romans, among them the Holy Cross. In 615-616, the Persians penetrated deeply into Asia Minor and reached the walls of Constantinople. In 619, they captured Alexandria. Before that Pelusium, Nikiu, and Babylon (Old Cairo) fell into their hands. In the past, the Persians had undertaken raids into depths of Byzantium. Their most notable invasion was in 540. However, at that time they acted as temporary intruders who came to loot and to retire. Now they understood that they had a real chance of conquering the Byzantine territories and remaining there for a long time.¹ As Theophanes reports, the Persian king hoped 'to seize the Roman Empire completely.'² Other enemies of Byzantium immediately took advantage of Heraclius' defeats and opened new fronts against him. Thus, the Avars accompanied by the Slavs invaded Illyricum. John of Nikiu tells us of the devastation of this territory and the enslavement of a significant part of its populace, with only Thessalonica having survived.³ Also the Visigothic king Sisebut in 615 occupied several important Roman cities in Hispania, such as Malacca and Assido.⁴ Byzantium had not faced such serious threats for a very long time. The very integrity of the Empire was jeopardized.

¹ See Kaegi, *Heraclius* 74.

² *Chronographia* A. M. 6105, 6109 (de Boor 300, 301).

³ R. H. Charles. *The chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*. [S.l.]: Williams & Norgate, 1916, 109.18, pp. 175-176. According to Isidore of Seville, Slavs took 'Greece' away from the Romans (J. Fine, *Early Medieval* 62).

⁴ This information is provided by Isidore of Seville, *HistGoth* 291-292; Fredegarius, *Chron* 4.33.

The Persian occupation on the eastern front was facilitated by the Monophysite population, who often preferred Persian to Byzantine supremacy.¹ Khusrau had favoured the Monophysite Church in those regions within his dominion, where they constituted a majority. This encouraged the Byzantine Monophysites to favour the Persian invasion. Heraclius, who personally commanded troops in the East, had many opportunities to observe the vulnerability of the Monophysite masses. It is quite possible that it was during the Persian campaigns that he realised the urgent necessity of the reconciliation of Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians. At the first opportunity, after having recaptured the occupied eastern territories in 624-628, he started the realisation of this task. Apart from the urgent political necessity, he was apparently moved to accomplish such a mission by the increase in religious enthusiasm, which accompanied the victorious stage of his anti-Persian campaign in 624-628², as well as by a series of events, which he considered to be signs of divine benevolence towards him and his undertakings during this campaign. Among these events was the miraculous salvation of Constantinople during the joint Avaro-Persian siege of 626, when about 12,000 defenders of the city³ resisted

¹ For example, the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, Athanasius the Camel-Driver (595-631) reported of the Persian occupation of the Byzantine territories: 'The world rejoiced in peace and love,' because the 'Chalcedonian night' had passed away (Severus of Asmounein, *Hist* 481).

² On the religious dimension of the Persian campaign, see John Meyendorff. *Imperial unity and Christian divisions: the Church 450-680 A.D., The Church in history; v.2.* Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1988, 333-335.

³ See Kaegi, *Heraclius* 134.

about 80,000 Avars¹ and an undefined number of Persian soldiers commanded by the general Shahrbarāz. Soon after that, a series of shattering defeats of the Persian army followed, with the consequent reconquest of occupied Byzantine territory. It was accompanied by the liberation of the Christian population and a great number of relics, among which were the Holy Sponge, the Holy Lance (returned in 629) and the Holy Cross (returned in 630). Heraclius triumphed as the liberator of Christians and Christian relics and as a mediator of divine Providence.² Therefore it is no wonder that he extended his role as a mediator of divine Providence from the military campaigns to solving the old and painful problem of divisions among Christians, given of course that this was also an urgent task for the political consolidation of the Empire.

4.2. SETTING UP THE NEW DOCTRINE

The project of reconciliation of the Monophysites with the Chalcedonians on the basis of the formula *two natures – one activity (energeia)* was designed by the Emperor Heraclius and the Patriarch of Constantinople Sergius. They came

¹ See Kaegi, *Heraclius* 135-136.

² Among numerous panegyric *topoi* that were composed to mark Heraclius' victories, I would like to mention an eloquent comparison provided by Theophanes (apparently borrowed from George of Pisidia), in which the six years of Heraclius' campaign are equated with the six days of the creation of the world: 'The emperor in six years fought and conquered Persia and, in the seventh year, he returned to Constantinople, having achieved all of that in the mystical sense. In effect, God fashioned all of creation in six days and he named the seventh day that of rest. So the emperor also accomplished numerous works during six years, then, in the seventh, having returned to the City in the midst of joy and peace, he rested. (Theophanes, *Chronographia* A. M. 6119 (de Boor 327-328)).

to power, political and ecclesiastical respectively, almost simultaneously in 610. Sergius ascended the Patriarch's throne a bit earlier, on 18th of April, when the Emperor Phokas was still in power.¹ On the 5th of October, Sergius crowned the next Emperor, Heraclius, with whom he shared political and ecclesiastical views and collaborated in their realisation during approximately the next thirty years. They died also nearly simultaneously, with the difference of just over two years.² The coexistence and collaboration of the two powers, political and ecclesiastical, during these three decades was smooth and close to the Byzantine ideal of 'symphony.'³ Sergius and Heraclius were allies who trusted one another and had significant mutual influence on each other. For instance, in 614/615, when the Emperor faced one of the most difficult moments of his reign, after Khusrau captured huge eastern parts of the Empire and a humiliating peace was necessary, Heraclius, before starting negotiations with the Persians, consulted the Patriarch Sergius.⁴ When, because of permanent defeats of the Roman army, Heraclius decided to move the capital from Constantinople to

¹ See about Sergius an article of K.-H. Uthemann in *BBKl* http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/s/s2/sergios_i.shtml [29/05/2003], in which there is a detailed account of his life, and an extensive bibliography; see also Van Dieten 1-56; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, pp. 258-260.

² Sergius died on 9th of December 638, and Heraclius on 11th of February 641.

³ See Kaegi, *Heraclius* 6, 60; also K.-H. Uthemann, *BBKl* http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/s/s2/sergios_i.shtml [29/05/2003]: 'Zwischen Sergios und dem neuen Kaiser (= Heraclius) entwickelte sich schnell ein in der Politik ungewöhnliches Vertrauensverhältnis.'

⁴ See *Chronicon Paschale* (Ludwig Dindorf and Charles Du Fresne sieur Du Cange. *Chronicon paschale, Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae; [t.4-5]*. Bonnae: impensis Ed. Weberi, 1832, 707); Van Dieten 7; Kaegi, *Heraclius* 84.

Carthage, it was the Patriarch who convinced him to abandon these plans. Sergius endowed, when it was needed, the military campaigns of Heraclius with ecclesiastical treasures. He allowed the Emperor to take away articles of worship which contained precious metals to smelt them into coins.¹ It was an unprecedented step, because normally gold and silver in liturgical vessels was only sold for the redemption of Christian prisoners, and not for military campaigns.² During the campaigns, when the Emperor was away from the capital for years, the Patriarch shared (with the patrician Bonos) responsibility for political affairs of the Empire. In particular, it was with his significant involvement that Constantinople was saved from an attack by Avars, Slavs, Bulgars, and Persians in 626. This almost idyllic conformity of the two powers had its downside. Thus, without noticeable hesitation Sergius blessed the incestuous marriage of Heraclius to his own niece Martina (622/623).³ Much greater concession to the imperial power was made by the Patriarch in the project of union with the Monophysites on the basis of the single *energeia* (and later will) formula.

It remains unknown by whom and how the project was initiated. Both the Emperor and the Patriarch were particularly concerned about the issue of

¹ See Theophanes, *Chronographia* A. M. 6113 (de Boor 302-303).

² See Judith Herrin. *The formation of Christendom*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987, 193.

³ See Van Dieten 5-6.

reconciliation because of their similar background. Indeed, the origins of Sergius, according to testimony of Anastasius of Sinai, were Syriac and Jacobite: 'Συρογενὴς ὑπάρχων, ὡς δὲ λόγος, καὶ γονέων Ἰακωβιτῶν ἔκγονος.'¹ That he was Syrian is quite possible, whereas his Jacobite background is rather dubious and could be a slander.² His assumed Syriac origins might make him sensitive to the task of reconciliation and aware of the theological tendencies and beliefs within the non-Chalcedonian camp. Perhaps, owing to his background he understood quite well how important for the Monophysites was the issue of the single *energeia* and was therefore impelled to construct the union on the basis of the Monenergist formula. Heraclius also had in some sense a 'Monophysite' background. He was of Armenian origins³ and spent some of his early years in the East and in particular in Armenia together with his father, Heraclius the Elder, who in 585 and later served as a general in the East and in 595 was a supreme regional commander of Armenia (*magister militum per*

¹ *Opera* 2 III 1⁴⁵⁻⁴⁶.

² See K.-H. Uthemann, *BBkl* http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/s/s2/sergios_i.shtml [29/05/2003].

³ See W. Kaegi, *Heraclius* 21. The majority of contemporary historians agree on Heraclius' Armenian background: Theophylact Simocatta, *Hist* 3.1.1; 2.3.2; 2.5.10; 2.10.6; 3.6.2; John of Nikiu, *Chron* 109.27; Theophanes, *Chronographia* A. M. 6078, 6100, 6101, 6102. Only two sources call Heraclius Cappadocian. The early one, that of John of Nikiu, refers to Cappadocia (*Chron* 106.2, 109.27); and much later, in the 12th century, Constantine Manasses proclaims that 'his fatherland was the thrice-blessed land of the Cappadocians, his race of distinguished men, and with an abundance of hair.' *BrevChron* 1.3664-5 (Lampsides 197). However, as Kaegi remarks, 'that is not irreconcilable with being Armenian.' For instance, Heraclius' mother, Epiphania, may have been of Cappadocian descent. Also the term 'Cappadocian' can be applied to all those who lived up to Euphrates (see *Heraclius* 21).

Armeniam).¹ By 602, Heraclius the Elder was appointed an exarch to North Africa, with his residence at Carthage. His son followed him and spent about ten years there, from the age of 25 to 35 approximately.² During his Persian campaigns and afterwards, he travelled a lot in the East and spent most of his time there. As W. Kaegi remarks, 'Heraclius had acquired a richer perspective on his contemporary world than any emperor since Theodosius I.'³ As a result, he knew the Monophysite regions very well, and was aware of local ecclesiastical and theological trends from first hand. To this knowledge and experience, should be added a heightened sensibility to the Monophysite population, provided by his Armenian origins. He was generally sensitive to religious matters and appeared to be a pious Emperor.⁴

The main reason for the Monenergist undertaking however remained apparently neither the origins nor the piety of the Emperor, but political expediency. This expediency prevailed over other motives. As mentioned above, it remains unclear who initiated the project. However, given the extraordinary difficulty of the political situation as a result of the Persian invasions, it is possible to suggest that Heraclius asked Sergius to find ways of reconciliation with the Monophysites. It is hardly believable that he himself elaborated the

¹ See Kaegi, *Heraclius* 21-22.

² See Kaegi, *Heraclius* 26.

³ Kaegi, *Heraclius* 210.

⁴ See Kaegi, *Heraclius* 59.



single-*energeia* formula. Although on the one hand he was reported to be a very learned person, on the other hand, as W. Kaegi remarks, 'there is no information on what kind of education he received as a child or during his teenage years, including when, where, and how he became literate.'¹ He was pious, but not theologically or philosophically advanced. That the author of the new formula was not Heraclius also appears from the fact that when discussing Christological issues, and in particular that of the *energeiai* in Christ, with both Chalcedonians and non-Chalcedonians (Paul the Monophthalmus, Cyrus of Phasis, Syrian and Armenian Monophysites), the Emperor always referred to Sergius. Heraclius himself testified that such a crucially important Monothelite document as the *Ecthesis*, which was formally issued by him, in fact was composed by Sergius.² Therefore, the theological elaboration of the Monenergist formula was undertaken not by him, but by Sergius.³ Obviously, Sergius was not the only author of the formula. In the Chalcedonian camp, his main co-

¹ Kaegi, *Heraclius* 22.

² He wrote in his letter to Pope John IV: 'The *Ecthesis* is not mine, and I have not recommended its promulgation, but the Patriarch Sergius drew it up five years ago, and on my return from the East petitioned me to publish it with my subscription.' Giovanni Domenico Mansi. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1961, 11, 9/ Karl Joseph von Hefele and R. Clark William. *A history of the Councils of the Church: from the original documents*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1895, v. 5, 61. Nevertheless, by writing this, Heraclius could be simply trying to avoid responsibility for Monothelitism and impose it onto Sergius.

³ See Meyendorff, *Imperial unity* 338.

author was Theodore the bishop of Pharan.¹ Their correspondence has been reported in the sources. In particular, as Maximus informs us, Sergius sent to Theodore a letter² asking him to present his opinion concerning the conception of single *energeia* and will in Christ. He attached to the letter a *libellus* allegedly sent by Patriarch of Constantinople Menas (536-552) to Pope Vigilius (537-555), which became one of the major testimonies referred to by Monenergists.³ Theodore reportedly approved the conception and told Sergius about this.⁴

¹ Lived first half of the 7th c. There is still a problem over whether he is identical with Theodore of Raithu. See Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, pp. 271-272; BBKl http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/t/theodor_v_p.shtml [13/10/2002]. According to Beck, Theodore of Pharan was if not the initiator then the first important representative of Monenergism (Kirche 430). The following writings of Theodore are reported: a) *Sermon to Sergius of Arsenoë* (frag. in ACO₂ I 120⁹⁻³⁹; ACO₂ II² 602⁴-604³; CPG 7601; Winkelmann 8); b) *Sermon about interpretations of Father's testimonies* (frag. ACO₂ I 122³-124⁷ = ACO₂ II¹ 604⁵-606¹⁴; CPG 7602; Winkelmann 8^a). See also the general research of A. Νίκα, *Θεόδορος τῆς Παρθοῦ* 87-100.

² See Maximus, *Disputation* 332^{bc}; Winkelmann 10.

³ Two Syriac fragments of the *libellus* survive in the Cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 14535, foll. 3^b and 9^b, edited by Sebastian Brock. 'A Monothelite florilegium in Syriac.' In *After Chalcedon: studies in theology and church history offered to Professor Albert Van Roey for his seventieth birthday*, edited by A. Munitiz Joseph, van Rompay Lucas, Carl Laga, and van Roey Albert. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1985, 37ff. The fragments in particular say: 'Of the holy Menas, patriarch of Constantinople; from the libellon which he proffered to Vigilius pope of Rome in the palace in the presence of Justinian the emperor: Because some people mistakenly say that in our Lord Jesus Christ the will of his divinity is different from that of his humanity, thereby demonstrating that Christ is in opposition to himself, dividing (him) up into God the Word separately and the man separately, we fittingly, being advocates for the truth, are demonstrating by means of testimonies of the holy fathers how, just as Christ is one, God and Man, one and the same, so too his will is one ...'; 'Of the holy Menas, patriarch of Constantinople, from the libellon which he gave to Vigilius patriarch of Rome. After providing the testimonies of the fathers he said as follows: Menas: See now, by means of the teaching of the holy fathers we have shown how the catholic church of God correctly and in piety preaches one will and one operation full of salvation, just as our Lord Jesus Christ is one.' S. Brock, 'A Monothelite florilegium' 37-38. Also a short fragment is contained in the *Chronicle* of John of Nikiu (R. H. Charles, *The chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 149). The authenticity of this document has been thoroughly examined and eventually rejected at the sixth ecumenical Council; see CPG 6934; Winkelmann 1.

⁴ See about the letter of Theodore to Sergius: Maximus *Disputatio* 332^c; Winkelmann 11.

Apart from Theodore, who represented the Chalcedonian camp, Sergius consulted Monophysites, in particular the bishop of Arsenoë (in Egypt) Sergius Macaronas, and the theologian George Arsas.¹ According to Maximus, Sergius asked George to provide him with a *florilegium* in favour of Monenergism (χρήσεις ... περὶ μιᾶς ἐνεργείας). From George the letter fell into the hands of the Melkite Patriarch of Alexandria John the Almsgiver (late 610/611 – 619): 'Blessed John, the Pope of Alexandria, seized this letter with his hand from Arsas, and wished, because of it (= the letter), to interdict him.'² Thus, when John read the epistle of Sergius to George, he was outraged by its content and decided to interdict ... The question is whom? The phrase itself is unclear. Its last word, αὐτοῦ, can be applied both to George and to Sergius. As Bolotov suggests, it is more likely that Maximus meant Sergius, because George was Monophysite and therefore already condemned.³ This suggestion sounds plausible. Patriarch John, however, had no time to fulfil his intention because of the Persian invasion and his death, which followed soon afterwards. Possibly Sergius also contacted other theologians and hierarchs from both camps, but there are no testimonies about this.

Apart from referring to the opinions of modern theologians and ecclesiastical figures, Sergius and Heraclius could also rely on the experience of

¹ See Maximus, *Disputation* 333^a; Winkelmann 9. See Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit* p. 206.

² Maximus, *Disputatio* 333^a.

³ Болотов, *Лекции* 448.

Justinian who was the first who tried to use Monenergism in order to bridge the gap with the Monophysites. Justinian however did not dare to proclaim a single *energeia* of Christ and limited himself to the theopaschite formula. His attempt appeared to be more or less successful and blameless from the doctrinal point of view, and was approved by the fifth ecumenical Council. This precedent might have inspired Heraclius and Sergius to do the same, but in a more explicit and, as they apparently believed, a more effective form. Whether this suggestion is true or not, 'theopaschism' was implemented in the Monenergist documents, such as for instance the Pact of the Alexandrian union.¹ They could also have been inspired by the larger theological undertaking of Justinian in the form of 'neo-Chalcedonianism' or rather 'Cyrilline Chalcedonianism.'²

Monenergism was not designed as a new self-standing doctrine, but solely as a broader interpretation of the Orthodox faith designed to bring about the reconciliation of the dissident groups, in other words as an ecclesiastical οἰκονομία. Such an understanding of the sense of the project can be found in the letter of Sergius to Honorius, in which the Patriarch writes:

Many other times our holy Fathers appear and use, following the God-pleasant *oekonomia* ... in order to obtain the salvation of many souls.³

¹ See Meyendorff, *Imperial unity* 347.

² See Meyendorff, *Imperial unity* 337.

³ ACO₂ II² 538¹⁷⁻¹⁹.

Later the initial interpretation, which was allowed κατ' οἰκονομίαν, turned into a precise doctrine (ἀκριβεία), which excluded Dyenergism-Dyothelitism, and thus became a full-bodied heresy.

In the initial period of conceiving and designing the Monenergist project, it was Sergius who was the main player, whereas Heraclius seems to have been behind the scenes. He made his appearance when the newly designed dogma was to be applied. In fact, the new doctrine was still being shaped, when the first attempts at its application were undertaken. Thus, up to 633 it appears to be Heraclius who negotiated with the Monophysites, pushing them into union on the basis of the Monenergist formula. It sounds quite strange that an Emperor played the role of mediator and negotiator on ecclesiastical matters and did this not at his palace in the capital, but in the 'field.' However, we should not forget that it was not unusual for him to lead his army in person during the Persian, and later the Arab campaigns. He considered such immediate involvement and presence to be of crucial importance. So it was, apparently, in the case of ecclesiastical dialogue. The Emperor preferred to be present on the field of 'battle,' to lead the campaign in person. The first recorded action of Heraclius undertaken in the framework of the Monenergist project occurred during his short stopover in Theodosiopolis in Armenia. There he had a dispute with a Monophysite theologian, Paul the One-Eyed

(Μονόφθαλμος), who had arrived from Cyprus.¹ This Paul was well instructed in theological matters.² He was a leader of the Monophysite community in Cyprus.³ One of the topics touched on during the discussion was that of the *energeiai* of Christ. As a result of the discussion, Heraclius sent Sergius a letter asking him to provide theological arguments in favour of Monenergism. In reply, Sergius sent a letter with the *libellus* of Menas and the opinion of Theodore of Pharan concerning the issue of one *energeia*.⁴ After Paul familiarized himself with the documents, he had another discussion (or maybe discussions) with the Emperor. He eventually rejected the Monenergist compromise and as a result was condemned by Heraclius, who issued on this occasion a special imperial decree (κέλευσις)⁵, which was sent to the Archbishop of Cyprus Arcadius.⁶ In the decree, Paul was condemned for his Monophysite views. Apart from this, however, the issue of the *energeiai* of

¹ See the letter of Cyrus of Phasis to Sergius (ACO₂ II² 588²⁰⁻²¹), the reply of Sergius to Cyrus (ACO₂ II² 528⁴⁻⁷), and the letter of Patriarch Sergius to Pope Honorius (ACO₂ II² 534), *Synodicon Vetus* 128; Winkelmann 12. See Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit* p. 248.

² See Болотов, *Лекции* 451.

³ See Van Dieten: 'Daß Paulos monophysitische Gemeinden von Zypern vertrat, kann man aber mit ziemlicher Sicherheit daraus erschließen, daß die erfolglose Diskussion Herakleios zu einem Dekret an den Erzbischof der Insel veranlaßte.' *Geschichte der Patriarchen* 28, 93.

⁴ See Maximus, *Disputatio* 332^c; Winkelmann 13.

⁵ See the letter of Cyrus of Phasis to Sergius (ACO₂ II² 588¹⁹⁻²¹), the reply of Sergius to Cyrus (ACO₂ II, 2, 528, 4-7), and the letter of Patriarch Sergius to Pope Honorius (ACO₂ II² 534), *Synodicon Vetus* 128; Winkelmann 14.

⁶ Archbishop of Cyprus from about 625 to 641/642; see Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit* pp. 196-198, where there is also a full bibliography.

Christ was touched on. In particular, the document forbade discussions concerning two *energeiai* of Christ.¹

At this stage, the Church of Cyprus was involved in the development of Monenergism. As far as we can trust the Syriac *Vita* of Maximus, Arcadius complied with the decree and at least initially backed the Monenergist project. This can be concluded from the *Vita*'s information that in 633 or 634 he, having been persuaded by Sophronius², convoked at Cyprus a synod with forty-six

¹ As Sergius reports in his letter to Cyrus, the decree 'prohibited talk about two *energeiai* of Christ our God' (κέλευσιν ... δύο κωλύουσιν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν λέγειν ἐνεργείας). ACO₂ II² 528⁷. Cyrus in his letter to Sergius mentions a certain reference (ἀναφορά) of the Patriarch, which he characterizes as 'πάντιμον ἀναφορὰν τῶν θεοπνεύστων ὑμῶν (= of Sergius).' ACO₂ II² 590⁶. According to V. Grumel, this is a replica of the Emperor's κέλευσις against Paul the Monophthalmus (*Reg* 283; Winkelmann 15). The scholar dates the document 623.

² The Syriac *Vita* of Maximus reports about quite intensive correspondence between Sophronius and Arkadius:

a) Letter of Sophronius to Arkadius (Cod. Brit. Mus. Or. 8606, fol. 127^a-140^b, Micheline Albert and Christoph von Schönborn. *Lettre de Sophrone de Jérusalem à Arcadius de Chypre: version syriaque inédite du texte grec perdu*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1978; see S. Brock, 'An Early Syriac Life of Maximus' 322, 345; CPG 7636; Winkelmann 29). S. Brock asserts that the text 'clearly antedates the main period of the monoenergeist controversy.'

b) Letter of Arkadius to Sophronius: 'Arkadios the archbishop of Cyprus showed you contempt.' S. Brock, 'An Early Syriac Life of Maximus' 315 n. 7; Winkelmann 30. Brock suggests that the letter might be an answer to the previous epistle.

c) Letter of Sophronius to Arcadius (see S. Brock, 'An Early Syriac Life of Maximus' 315f; Winkelmann 31). Sophronius invites Arkadius to 'send to the holy Kyros of Alexandria and to Honorios patriarch of Rome and to Sergios patriarch of Constantinople, (saying) that there should be a synod and gathering of bishops wherever they liked, and they should make trial of these things (Trishagion), saying, It is not pleasing to the Lord that we should consume the revenues of the sheep and of the church, while there is an upheaval of dissension in our midst; why should we come to destruction on behalf of the flock which the head shepherd has entrusted to us?' The letter was written between the summer/autumn of 631 and 634. Arkadius sent the requested letters, as the same Syriac *Vita* reports: 'When the holy Arkadios received the letter from Sophronios' notary and from the deacon John, who was going round the churches of Mount Sinai, and when he had read it, he did not delay from carrying this out, and he wrote off sending (letters) to the above mentioned patriarchs.' S. Brock, 'An Early Syriac Life of Maximus' 316; Winkelmann 32.

participants, including Cyrus, Gaius, the deacon of Pope Honorius, archdeacon Peter, George, the author of the Syriac *Vita*, eight bishops from Sophronius' jurisdiction, and Anastasius, the disciple of Maximus.¹ The council reportedly supported Monenergism and condemned the stand of Sophronius and Maximus. Its decisions were summarized in a corresponding letter sent to Heraclius.² That Arcadius was on the side of Heraclius can be also concluded by implication from the fact that Heraclius during or immediately after his visit to Jerusalem in 630 donated a considerable amount of money for the construction of an aqueduct at Cyprus, which constantly suffered from drought, as it does even today.³ Perhaps this money was granted to express the gratitude of the Emperor and encourage the Cypriots in their support of Monenergism.⁴ It would appear to be no coincidence that Maximus addressed his dogmatic treatises in favour of Dyenergism-Dyothelitism to the Cypriot deacon Marinus. Maybe the persuasion of Sophronius or other factors unknown to us convinced

¹ See S. Brock, 'An Early Syriac Life of Maximus' 316¹⁰⁻¹⁴; Winkelmann 33. According to S. Brock, 'the precise date of this gathering is not clear.' However, the scholar suggests that 'the synod in Cyprus took place c. 634, around the time that Sophronios came to the patriarchal throne.'

² S. Brock, 'An Early Syriac Life of Maximus' 316; see also Winkelmann 34.

³ A relevant inscription, which probably dates to 631, has survived in Salamis/Constantia: 'These seven arches have been made with the help of God and also thanks to the generosity of Flavius Heraclius, our master crowned by God, from the Hippodrome, the sixth month, indiction four.' J.-P. Sodini. 'Les inscriptions de l'Aqueduc de Kythrea à Salamine de Chypre.' In *Eupsychia. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler*. Paris, 1998, 624-625 n. 1.

⁴ See Sodini, 'Les inscriptions' 208.

Arcadius to change his mind. His successor Sergius¹ claimed in his letter to Pope Theodore that Arcadius was with the Dyothelite party.²

During his anti-Persian campaign, in 627 Heraclius passed through Lazica at the head of his troops. When staying in the Lazic port of Phasis, he had a theological conversation with local bishop, Cyrus.³ Amongst other topics, the Emperor spoke of his meeting with Paul the One-Eyed in Armenia and about the doctrine of one *energeia*. Cyrus was puzzled by this doctrine and sent a letter to Patriarch Sergius asking him to elucidate the issue.⁴ Cyrus is doubtful in his letter. Behind the rhetorical figures of his speech lies confusion. It seems that he, as a normal Chalcedonian, implicitly believed in two *energeiai* of Christ. He apparently was not prepared for such a challenge. Sergius replied⁵ to Cyrus that there was indeed a single activity in Christ. He tried to dissipate his doubts by saying that none of the ecumenical or other Orthodox Councils had mentioned the issue of the *energeiai*. Among the testimonies of Fathers he 'κατ' ἐξάιρετον' refers to writings of Cyril and to the *libellus* of Menas.⁶ *Synodicon*

¹ See Ralph-Johannes Lilie and Friedhelm Winkelmann. *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit: 1. Abt. (641-867)*, *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. 1. Abt.* Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998, (PmbZ) 6532; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit* p. 261.

² See ACO₂ II¹ 62³⁰; CPG 7628; Winkelmann 83.

³ See Winkelmann 18; see about Cyrus PmbZ 4213; *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I: 641-867* [CD]. Ashgate; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit* pp. 227-228.

⁴ ACO₂ II² 588⁷-592⁴; see CPG 7610; Winkelmann 19.

⁵ ACO₂ II² 528-530; see CPG 7604; Winkelmann 20.

⁶ ACO₂ II² 528¹⁵⁻¹⁹.

Vetus reports that before sending his reply, Sergius convoked a synod *endemousa*, that is, which consisted of bishops who at that moment resided in Constantinople, which confirmed his position.¹

Active involvement in his military campaigns did not allow Heraclius to promote Monenergism on a larger scale. When the eastern front had become more or less stable, he spent a short time in Constantinople, and then again departed for the East. Now his main destination was Jerusalem and his declared purpose the restoration of the Holy Cross, which was offered to him by the new Persian king and Heraclius' protégé, the former general Shahrbarāz. Apart from this formal reason for coming to the East, Heraclius was also seeking to promote union with the schismatic groups.²

It was not only the Monophysites who Heraclius tried to approach, but the Nestorians as well. He used the same tactics in dealing with both parties, which consisted of reaching an acceptable doctrinal compromise, and then sharing communion with a dissident ecclesiastic leader. Initially these tactics were applied to the Nestorians. On 9th of June 630 the Persian king Shahrbarāz was slain, and the daughter of Khusrau Boran II took up the vacancy. She

¹ See *Synodicon Vetus* n. 128; Hefele, *History* 5, 15-18; Winkelmann 21^a.

² As Kaegi remarks, 'Heraclius utilized this time to try to consolidate his empire by reasserting imperial authority in lost provinces and in attempting to find ways to end religious dissidence.' *Heraclius* 210.

requested the Nestorian Catholicos Ishoyahb II (628-643)¹ to take a message to Heraclius proposing to renew the truce with the Romans. Probably Ishoyahb and Heraclius met at Aleppo (Berrhœa) in the summer of 630.² Apart from discussing the political issues, they also touched on doctrinal ones. After the Catholicos set out his beliefs, Heraclius asked him to celebrate the liturgy and to give him communion. In exchange Ishoyahb demanded the removal of the name of Cyril of Alexandria from the Orthodox diptychs. Then he professed his faith in written form and gave Heraclius communion.³ In his negotiations with the Catholicos, Heraclius apparently made use of the Monenergist formula. As was indicated above, Antiochian theology in interpreting Theodore of Mopsuestia presupposed a union or rather manifestation of the two particular natures of Christ in the single *energeia*. So the idea of two natures and one *energeia* promoted by Heraclius was familiar to the Nestorians. Therefore, if the Monenergist formula was indeed used by Heraclius in his conversations with the Nestorians, it would have been quite acceptable to them.⁴ Ultimately,

¹ See William McCullough. *A short history of Syriac Christianity to the rise of Islam*, *Scholars Press general series*; no. 4. Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1982, 162-164; R. Tenberg, 'Isho'jahb I' BBKl http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/i/Ischo_II.shtml [10/06/2002].

² See Bernard Flusin. *Saint Anastase le Perse: et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VII siècle. Tome Second, Commentaire: Les Moines de Jérusalem et l'invasion perse, Le monde byzantin.*, Paris: Ed. du C.N.R.S., 1992, 321; Kaegi, *Heraclius* 212-213.

³ Addai Scher. *Histoire nestorienne inédite: (chronique de Séert)*, *Patrologia Orientalis*. Turnhout, Belgique: Editions Brepols, 1973, 557-559.

⁴ See J. Meyendorff, *Imperial unity* 338. As J. Pelikan remarks, 'Ironically, Monoenergism, the notion of one action in Christ, was able to claim the support of both christological extremes, the

nothing significant came of this act of union. The initiative of the Catholicos, after he returned home, was severely criticized in his Church.¹

The major target of the unionist attempts of the Emperor, however, were the Monophysites. On his return from Jerusalem in the spring of 631, Heraclius stayed for a while at Hierapolis (Mabbug, Mambij). Here he had a meeting with the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch Athanasius the Camel-Driver² and twelve of his bishops.³ They reportedly discussed Christological issues for twelve days and came to some compromise. The theological basis of the discussion is reflected in the letter addressed by Heraclius to Athanasius.⁴ This basis is a confession of two natures which have one operation.⁵ The abrupt death of Athanasius in July 631, however, did not allow the alleged decisions to be

Nestorian and the Monophysite: the former taught that the two hypostases in Christ concurred in a single action, while the latter taught that there was "a single, individual action of one hypostasis".' *The Christian Tradition* II 64.

¹ See McCullough, *A Short History* 162-163.

² Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch from 593/4 – 630/631. Was respected by both Jacobite and Orthodox communities. In 609-610, with the assistance of the Byzantine state, he managed to unify Syrian and Egyptian Jacobites. He also took care to strengthen links between the Byzantine and Persian Jacobites. See *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 16 (1987) 476-478, in which there is also an extensive bibliography (481-485). See about Athanasius Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit* p. 198.

³ See Van Dieten 219-232; Winkelmann 24^a.

⁴ See Winkelmann 24.

⁵ Jean Baptiste Chabot. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*. Bruxelles: Culture et Civilisation, 1899, II 402f.

implemented.¹ Nevertheless, some communities, including monastic ones, complied with the Emperor's faith. Those however who refused to accept Chalcedon of their free will were forced into union by violence. Thus, the Monophysite author Bar Hebraeus reports:

When the Emperor went to Mabbough (Hierapolis), he was approached by Patriarch Mar Athanasius and twelve bishops, from whom he asked a declaration of faith which they gave to him. After having read it, the Emperor spoke to them with praise. But he pressed them hard to accept the Council of Chalcedon. Since they would not consent, Heraclius was irritated and sent out a decree to the whole Empire: 'Anyone who will not adhere (to the Council), will have his nose and ears cut off and his house pillaged.' And so, many converted. The monks of Bêt(h) Maron, of Mabbough and of Emesa showed their wickedness and pillaged a number of churches and monasteries. Our people complained to Heraclius, who did not answer them.²

The communities that either deliberately or under duress accepted Monenergism-Monothelitism retained the dogma even after it was rejected in Byzantium. They became known as Maronites.³

Somewhat greater success attended Heraclius' efforts in Armenia. He managed to convince the Armenian Catholicos Ezr to accept the compromise Christological formula containing the Monenergist insertion and to share Holy Communion with the Emperor. Supposedly, Ezr yielded to pressure after having received in exchange one third of the town of Kolb and revenues from its salt mines, and after Heraclius warned him that he would set up a parallel

¹ See L. McCoull, 'George of Pisidia, *Against Severus*: In Praise of Heraclius.' In Roger Dahood. *The future of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: problems, trends, and opportunities for research, Arizona studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*; 2. Turnhout: Brepols, 1998. 69-79.

² *Chron* I 271-274.

³ See about Maronism a chapter below.

hierarchy, if Ezr refused to comply with the compromise formula.¹ The union based on the Monenergist formula was accepted and signed at the synod of Theodosiopolis (Karin, Erzurum) convoked in 631-633, at which Heraclius was present.² However, the acceptance of Chalcedon was rather evasive and not sincere enough. The faith of the Emperor was hardly agreed with by the Armenian hierarchy and even less by the populace.³ Chalcedonianism accepted at the synod of Theodosiopolis was kept by Ezr's successor Nerses III the Builder⁴ until the council of Dvin in 648-649, at which the union was rejected together with the subjection of Armenia to Byzantium. However, when the

¹ See Yovhannes Drasxanakertc'i, *History of Armenia* 18.6-14 (K. H. Maksoudian 98-99); *Narratio de rebus Armeniae* (Garitte 310); Sebeos, *Hist* 41 (Robert Thomson and Tim Greenwood. *The Armenian history attributed to Sebeos, Translated texts for historians; vol. 31*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999, 91-92).

² See Болотов, *Лекции* 453 and especially a note of his editor A. Brilliantov (n. 2, p. 453); Winkermann 25. The council was mentioned by bishop Sebeus (*Hist* (Thomson 91f)).

³ See, for instance Γιέζνικ Πετροσιάν. *Η θέση τῆς Ἀρμενικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἔναντι τῶν ἱερῶν εἰκόνων. Διδακτορικὴ διατριβή, Ἑκδόση τοῦ Καθολικάτου τῆς Ἀρμενικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, Ἀγ. Ἐντζμιτζίν, Αθήνα, 1987, 66.*

⁴ See the testimonies of *Narratio des rebus Armeniae* (Garitte 46); Sebeos, *Hist* (Thomson 113-142); see also Winkermann 131^a. Sebeos, who was in opposition to Nerses, noted: 'He (= Nerses) firmly agreed with the Council of Chalcedon and the Tome of Leo. But he revealed his impious thoughts to no one until he reached the episcopate in that land, from which he was called to the throne of the Catholicosate. He was a man virtuous in conduct, fasting, and prayer. But he kept the bitter poison hidden in his heart, and he planned to convert Armenia to the Council of Chalcedon. Yet he did not dare to reveal his intention until king Constans came and stayed in the residence of the Catholicos, and the Council of Chalcedon was proclaimed in the church of St Gregory on a Sunday. The liturgy was celebrated in Greek by a Roman priest; and the king, Catholicos, and all the bishops took communion, some willingly, some unwillingly. In this way the Catholicos perverted the true faith of St Gregory which all the Catholicoi had preserved on a solid foundation in the holy church from St Gregory down to today. He muddied the pure and clean and crystalline waters of the springs – which the Catholicos from early on had intended, but had not been able to reveal until that day. Then, when he found an opportunity, he carried out his desire. He betrayed one by one the bishops, and demoralized them through fear, so that from terror of death they all carried out the orders to communicate; especially because the blessed ones who were more firmly based, had died.'

Roman dominion over Armenia was restored by the Emperor Constans II, the union was revitalized as well. Constans came to Dvin in 654 and shared communion with the Catholicos Nerses, who again complied with Chalcedon. The Arab conquest of Armenia, however, reversed the position, and the union was abandoned for good.

Heraclius' efforts at restoring ecclesiastical unity were also reported in Georgia. A Georgian historian of the eleventh century, Sumbat Davitidze, in his account on *Life and Time of the Georgian Bagratids*¹ relates that the Emperor

despatched priests to Tp'ilisi and Mc'xet'a and Ujarma so that all Christians would be united in the Church (= the Orthodox Church), and all the magi and fire-worshippers who would not receive baptism were exterminated.²

The doctrinal concessions made by Heraclius in Mesopotamia and Armenia can well be compared with those made later in Egypt. The question is why they were not rejected by Chalcedonian hierarchs and theologians (if we overlook the alleged protest of John the Almsgiver in Alexandria), as had happened in Alexandria. I think there are two possible answers. First, in Hierapolis and Theodosiopolis it was the Emperor who acted immediately, while in Alexandria the imperial policy was implemented by an ecclesiastic hierarch, Cyrus. In the former case, the involvement of the official Church was minimal, with only Sergius distantly supporting the Emperor's efforts. Few

¹ Published by S. Kaukhchishvili in the first volume of the *History of Georgia* in Tbilisi, 1955. I referred to the Russian translation of the text: Сумбат Давитис-дзе. *История и повествование о Багратионах* (перевод, введение и примечание М. Д. Лордкипанидзе). Тбилиси, 1979.

² Kaegi, *Heraclius* 220 (Лордкипанидзе 30).

would dare to blame such a pious Emperor as Heraclius for his undertakings, especially after his glorious victories over the Persians and his direct involvement in the liberation of so many important relics. Secondly, there was no second Sophronius in the East who would protect the purity of the faith regardless of the exalted rank of the promoter of the new doctrine.

4.3. UNION AT ALEXANDRIA

Although previous attempts at reconciliation in Asia had not brought as many fruits as he had hoped, Heraclius did not give up. In 631, the bishop of Phasis, Cyrus, was elected to the Patriarchal throne of Alexandria. He was also invested with the power of prefect of Egypt. One of his major tasks was achieving reconciliation with the Monophysite groups in Egypt on the basis of the Monenergist formula. The local Monophysite populace met him with hostility. Their Patriarch Benjamin fled from Alexandria to Upper Egypt, where he remained in hiding for ten years. However, during the two years that Cyrus had spent in Alexandria before 633, he had managed to set up more or less regular contacts with the leaders of the Monophysite communities¹ and convinced some of them to be ready to accept the Chalcedonian faith with the Monenergist formula inserted. Formal union on the basis of a written

¹ According to the information given by Sergius in his letter to Honorius, the proclamation of the union was preceded by extended discussions: 'Μετὰ πολλὰς διαλέξεις καὶ καμάτων, οὓς μετὰ πλείστης φρονήσεως καὶ λυσιτελεστάτης οἰκονομίας ἐν τῷ πράγματι κατεβάλετο ..., γέγονασι μεταξὺ μέρους ἑκατέρου δογματικά τινα κεφάλαια.' ACO₂ II² 536²¹⁻²³.

confession,¹ composed apparently by Cyrus himself, was proclaimed as a basis of common faith on the 3rd of June 633 in the Cæsareum, the cathedral of Alexandria. Then the Chalcedonians and Theodosians shared Holy Communion. Cyrus immediately reported his achievements to Constantinople:

All the clergy of the Theodosian party of this city, together with all the civil and military persons of distinction, and many thousands of the people, on the 3rd of June, took part with us, in the Holy Catholic Church, in the pure holy mysteries.²

The act of union was apparently confirmed by a local synod of the Alexandrian Church, as reported in *Synodicon Vetus* (no. 130). The theological and ecclesiastical arrangements were enforced with persecutions that Cyrus as a prefect of Egypt applied to local Monophysites who rejected the union. Here are only two examples. Under Cyrus' government the brother of the Monophysite Patriarch Benjamin, Menas was tortured and executed.³ Moreover, the Romans were still mutilating the Monophysites even when in 641 they themselves were besieged by the Arabs in Babylon (modern Cairo). The persecutions of the Monophysites initiated by Cyrus were reportedly very harsh. In the historical memory of the Copts Cyrus is remembered as 'one of the

¹ The text can be found in the protocol of the 8th session of the sixth ecumenical Council (ACO₂ II² 596-600). The 7th chapter of the Pact, which contains the Monenergist confession, is included in the protocol of the Lateran Council (ACO₂ I 134¹⁰⁻²⁹); see CPG 7013; Winkelmann 27.

² ACO₂ II² 592⁷-594¹⁵/Hefele, *History* 5, 18; see CPG 7611; Winkelmann 28. In reply, Sergius sent to Cyrus an approval letter (ACO₂ II¹ 134³¹-138³⁷; see CPG 7605; Winkelmann 70).

³ See Severus, Bishop of Ushmunain. *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria... Arabic text edited, translated and annotated by B. Evetts. Arab. & Eng. [Patrologia Orientalis. tom. 1. fasc. 2, etc.]*: Paris, 1907, 489-492.

worst oppressors of the Copts' who 'inaugurated one of the fiercest persecutions of the Copts in history.'¹ In the Coptic sources, only violence and blood remained associated with the memory of Cyrus, and not his theological approaches.

It is difficult to ascertain how many Monophysites in reality converted to the Chalcedonian faith. Probably, most of the Alexandrian urban clergy and some bishops yielded to the actions of Cyrus. However, if a really significant number of Monophysites did join the Catholic Church, that number soon fell dramatically.² When the Arabs invaded Egypt in 639, the local population, if it did not help them openly, at least refrained from resistance and avoided helping the Romans.³ It is noteworthy that in Egypt no Monothelite communities have survived, as they have in Syria (Maronites). This signifies that hatred and rejection of the Monenergist Chalcedonianism in Egypt was stronger than in the East. Thus, the attempts at reconciliation undertaken by

¹ Aziz S. Atiya. 'Cyrus Al-Muqawqas.' *Coptic Encyclopedia* v. 3.

² According the *History of the Patriarchs*, the converted Copts were brought back to the Monophysite Church by the painstaking pastoral care of the Patriarch Benjamin: 'He induced them to return to the right faith by his gentleness, exhorting them with courtesy and consolation.' Severus Bishop of Ushmunain. *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, 497.

³ An account on the response of the Monophysites to the Arab invaders can be found in the chronicle of Michael the Syrian: 'The God of vengeance ... raised up from the south the children of Ishmael to deliver us from the hands of the Romans ... It was no light benefit for us to be freed from the cruelty of the Romans, their wickedness, anger and ardent cruelty towards us, and to find ourselves in peace (*Chabot* II 412). See also Walter Kaegi. *Byzantium and the early Islamic conquests*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, 213-218. However, the collaborationism of the Monophysites should not be exaggerated. They supported the Arabs passively rather than actively. See J. Moorhead. 'The Monophysite response to the Arab invasions.' *Byzantion* 51 (1981), 580-591.

Cyrus on the basis of the Monenergist formula failed. The crowds who reportedly joined Orthodoxy in 633 eventually vanished, failing to come to the aid of the Empire which so needed their assistance in 639. The Arab 'Abd al-Hakam has left an interesting report of the Arab assault on Egypt:

The Muqawqis (= 'the Caucasian' that is Cyrus) who was the foremost among the Byzantines until he wrote to the king of Byzantines, informing him what he did. And 'Amr (= commander of Arab troops) accepted that and he agreed and allowed them to leave. And he wrote a document about it. And Muqawqis wrote to the king of the Byzantines informing him about the reason for the affair in all detail. The king of the Byzantines wrote to him, denouncing his opinion as shameful, called him impotent, and replied to him about his actions. He said in his document: 'Indeed 12,000 Arabs reached you while there are innumerable Copts (= Monophysites) beyond counting in Egypt and the Copts loathe killing and like to contribute jizya (= head tax) to the Arabs and they prefer them to us. You have in Egypt Byzantines of Alexandria who together with auxiliary troops number more than 100,000 and the strength of the Arabs.'¹

Indeed, in the face of inevitable defeat by the Arabs, Cyrus decided to pay a sizeable tribute to their commander 'Amr bin al-'Ās. This decision of the Patriarch caused Heraclius major dissatisfaction, and deprived Cyrus of the Emperor's trust. What is interesting in the report of 'Abd al-Hakam, and makes it different from other similar reports, is that Heraclius blames Cyrus for the collaboration of the Copts with the Arabs. Whether this information is true or not, Heraclius was apparently irritated by Cyrus' failure to reconcile the Monophysites of Egypt. The money that Cyrus paid to the Arabs also failed to work for a long time. On the 28th of November 641, Egypt fell into the hands of the Arabs.

¹ Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Futūḥ miṣr wa akhbārūhā*, ed. Charles Torrey, New Haven, Yale, 1922, 71/Kaegi, *Heraclius* 286-287.

Map 2: Roman Empire after Arab conquests ca AD 700



Source: An Online Encyclopedia of Roman Emperors. <http://www.roman-emperors.org/big700.htm> [25/07/2003]. Designed by Christos Muessli.

The unionist attempts in Alexandria, unlike similar actions in Asia, faced internal opposition. Before having the text implemented, Cyrus had consulted Sophronius, a widely respected abbot, who was a refugee who had escaped the Persian occupation of Palestine.¹ Sophronius immediately comprehended the dangers and theological consequences of the new doctrine and tried to persuade Cyrus to abandon it. Maximus reports that:

Sophrony therefore, the great and divine, arriving then at Alexandria, immediately on the first reading (for Cyrus had given him those nine impious chapters for revision) dolefully, plaintively cried out, shedding fountains of tears, fervidly begging, beseeching, expostulating with him, prone at his feet, that he pronounce none of these things from the pulpit against the Catholic Church of God.²

Cyrus, however, did not yield to the persuasions of Sophronius and proceeded to implement the formula. Then Sophronius took the decision to appeal to the Patriarch of Constantinople. He arrived at the capital and had an audience with Sergius.³ Sergius quickly anticipated the potential danger of divisions within the Chalcedonian camp, which could be caused by the Monenergist insinuations. In the absence of the Emperor, who was in the East, he on his own authority issued an 'authoritative statement' called a *Psephos* (Ψῆφος), which prohibited the usage of the language of one or two *energeiai*

¹ See Winkelmann 26. See about Sophronius Christoph von Schönborn. *Sophrone de Jérusalem: Vie monastique et confession dogmatique, Théologie historique*; 20. Paris: Beauchesne, 1972; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit* pp. 261-262.

² From the letter to Peter Illustris, PG 91, 143^{cd}.

³ See Winkelmann 26^a.

and instead promoted speaking of the single subject of activities in Christ.¹ Apparently, the document was formally confirmed by the *endemousa* synod.² In effect, by issuing the *Psephos*, Sergius suspended further promotion of the unionist project. Why Sergius did this, and did it so quickly, remains puzzling. That the Patriarch could suspend the project on his own authority and without preliminary consultations with the Emperor probably means that he and Heraclius were prepared to face possible negative consequences and at the preparatory stage discussed what they would do if the project went wrong. Whether this is true and escape routes had been drawn up or not, this immediate reaction, which in effect stopped any further realisation of the project, means that it was not conceived as a dogmatic issue, but rather as a matter of ecclesiastical *oeconomia*.

After Sophronius protested against the formula, Sergius had two choices: either disregard the protests and carry on with the implementation of Monenergism, or suspend the unionist attempts in order to prevent further dissent within the Church. He decided to take the latter course. It is not quite clear why he made this choice. He could have taken into consideration the fact

¹ 'Μηκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ τινι συγχωρεῖν μίαν ἢ δύο προφέρειν ἐνεργείας ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, καθάπερ αἱ ἁγίαί καὶ οἰκουμενικαὶ παραδεδώκασι σύνοδοι, ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Υἱὸν μονογενῆ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν ἐνεργεῖν ὁμολογεῖν τὰ τε θεῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα καὶ πᾶσαν θεοπρεπῆ καὶ ἀνθρωποπρεπῆ ἐνέργειαν ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σεσαρκωμένου Θεοῦ Λόγου ἀδιαιρέτως προϊέναι καὶ εἰς ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀναφέρεσθαι.' ACO₂ II² 542²⁻⁷.

² The very title of the document – ψηφός (from ψηφίζω – vote) – indicates that it was voted by a council.

that the attempts at reconciliation undertaken by that time on the basis of the Monenergist formula had not brought significant results. He also could bear in mind the unhappy consequences of other unionist attempts, such as that of the Emperor Zeno and Patriarch Peter Mongus who unsuccessfully promoted the *Henoticon* (482). Sergius did not want to abuse the Emperor's authority in order to persuade the strictly Chalcedonian establishment to accept the new formula. The major reason, however, appeared to be an emerging danger of Arab invasion.¹ In the face of the Arab threat, it was urgently necessary to preserve the unity of the Church. Thus, Sergius preferred the unity of the Church to the more ephemeral task of reaching unity with the Monophysites. However, the extent of the suspension of Monenergism should not be exaggerated. Monenergism was not abandoned altogether but conserved, in order probably to preserve the fruits of the project in the East and Egypt. Sergius' decision was approved by Heraclius, who sent from the East a *keleusis*, which confirmed the *Psephos*.²

¹ As Kaegi remarks, Heraclius realized the severity of the Muslim threat as early as 632 or 633 (Kaegi, *Heraclius* 230).

² The Emperor was immediately informed by Sergius about the development of events around the union. The Patriarch sent him a letter through his *sacellarius* Basilicus, which is mentioned in his epistle to Honorius (ACO₂ II² 546⁸⁻⁹; see Winkelmann 39). The Emperor's decree (κέλευσις) is mentioned in: ACO₂ II² 546¹⁷; Theophanes, *Chronographia* (de Boor 330); George Cedrenus, *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*; [t.13-14]. Athenai: Spanos, 1838, I 737³; John Zonaras, *Epitomae historiarum*, *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae*. Bonnae: impensis E. Weberi, 1897 III¹⁴ 17; see Winkelmann 37.

At the end 633 or at the beginning 634 Sophronius was elected Patriarch of Jerusalem.¹ According to custom, he issued an enthronement letter, which had the character of an encyclical addressed to all the Patriarchs.² He used this opportunity to promote his Dyenergist views. In the letter he virtually confessed two *energeiai*, omitting however the usage of the number two in regard to them. He thus formally complied with the *Psephos* and simultaneously promoted the Orthodox doctrine. The epistle was addressed primarily to Sergius and Honorius.³ According to *Synodicon Vetus*, the content of the epistle was confirmed by the synod of bishops of Jerusalem.⁴ Also, as Photius reports, the epistle was supplied with a *florilegium* in favour of two *energeiai*.⁵

Sergius foresaw that Sophronius would not stop protesting. His major concern was that Rome received 'correct' information about what had happened in Alexandria. Sophronius, however, might send to the Pope a report which would not favour either Sergius or Cyrus. Having learnt that Sophronius had been elected Patriarch of Jerusalem, Sergius decided to send to Rome his own

¹ See Schönborn, *Sophrone* 85.

² ACO₂ II' 410¹³-494⁹ = PG 87, 3148-3200; see CPG 7635; Rudolf Riedinger. 'Die Epistula synodica des Sophronios von Jerusalem im Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115.' *Byzantiaka* 2 (1982): 143-154; Winkelmann 45.

³ See Schönborn, *Sophrone* 100. In particular, Photius read the letter addressed to the Pope (*Bibliotheca* 64¹³-65³⁵).

⁴ 'Σωφρόνιος δὲ ὁ μελίγλωσσος τῆς ἀληθείας πρόμαχος ἀρχιερεὺς Ἱεροσολύμων γενόμενος θεῖαν σύνοδον καὶ ἱερὰν ποιησάμενος, δύο θελήσεις καὶ ἐνεργείας τρανώσας, ἀπέστειλεν Ὀνωρίῳ (sic!) τῷ πάπᾳ Ῥώμης καὶ Σεργίῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τὰ συνοδικὰ αὐτοῦ.' *Synodicon Vetus* 131, 110.

⁵ *Bibliotheca* 65³⁶-67⁷.

account of events, because he knew that the newly elected Patriarch had to send to all the Patriarchal sees his traditional enthronement letter with a profession of Orthodoxy. Sergius understood that for Sophronius this was an excellent opportunity to criticize Monenergism.¹ Thus, soon after the election of Sophronius, Sergius sent a letter to Pope Honorius.² In this letter, he exposed the history of the unionist attempts undertaken by Heraclius. He emphasized that it was the Emperor who had initiated the unions. He also referred to the theological basis of the unions. Here Sergius had to be very cautious. He touched on the issue of the single *energeia* having stressed the distinction of two natures, *communicatio idiomatum*, and Leo's Tome. Honorius in reply³ approved the position of the Patriarch and went even further, confessing a single will in Christ: 'Whence we recognize a single will of Lord Jesus Christ, because our nature is truly assumed by the Divinity.'⁴ Monothelitism could exist in embryo

¹ Such a motivation of Sergius was suggested by B. B. Болотов (*Лекции* 462-463).

² ACO₂ II² 534⁴-546²⁵; see CPG 7606; Winkelmann 43. The years of Honorius' pontificate (27th October 625 – 12 October 638) were happy for the Roman Church. He successfully coped with the Lombards, Rome's political rival Ravenna, built many churches in Rome, promoted mission in Britain etc. See Anton Thanner. *Papst Honorius I (625-638), Studien zur Theologie und Geschichte*; 4. Bd. St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag, 1989; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit* p. 213; M. Tilly, 'Honorius I' *BBKl* http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/h/honorius_i_p.shtml [10/06/2002].

³ ACO₂ II² 548³-558⁸; PL 80, 470-474; Georg Kreuzer. *Die Honoriusfrage im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit, Päpste und Papsttum*; Bd.8. Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1975, 32-47 (critical edition); see CPG 9375; CPL 1726; Winkelmann 44. There was another letter of Honorius to Sergius. Part of it was included to the protocol of the sixth ecumenical Council (ACO₂ II² 621²⁰-625¹⁹; PL 80, 474-476); critical edition: G. Kreuzer, *Die Honoriusfrage* 48-53; see CPG 9377; Winkelmann 47. In this letter Honorius informs Sergius that he has sent exhortative letters to Cyrus and Sophronius.

⁴ 'Unde et unam voluntatem fitemur domini Iesu Christi, quia profecto a divinitate assumpta est nostra natura.' ACO₂ II² 551¹⁴⁻¹⁶.

in the preceding Monenergist documents, but for the first time it was proclaimed by Honorius. It is quite possible that Honorius, unintentionally of course, triggered off a new phase of the controversy, when Monenergism was left aside and Monothelitism emerged instead.¹ History does not know a conjunctive mood. Thus, we will never know if Monothelitism would ever have emerged if Honorius had not explicitly professed it in his letter.

¹ See J. Meyendorff, *Imperial unity* 353-354; K.-H. Uthemann, *BBKl* http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/s/s2/sergios_i.shtml [29/05/2003].

4.4. THE *ECTHESIS*

Heraclius had only a short time to be occupied with the question of ecclesiastical reconciliation. It lasted from 628 to 633 that is the period of peace between two campaigns against the Persians and the Arabs. In 634 Muslim Arabs invaded Byzantium and started their swift advance into its heart. In 636, the Romans were destroyed at Yarmūk. As a result, they were forced to abandon Syria, which was filled with Arab troops. The latter rushed further into Upper Mesopotamia. As a result, Byzantium lost huge territories, including the Holy Land. In late 639 Arabs invaded Egypt and in 641 conquered it. All these events forced the Emperor and his ecclesiastical allies to cease promotion of the union throughout the Empire. However, in the last years of his life Heraclius came back to his Monenergist project and attempted to revitalize it. In 638, he issued the *Ecthesis*.¹ This was a document issued by the Emperor's chancellery and had the character of an obligatory law. It was posted in the narthex of Hagia Sophia. The main point of the document was the strict prohibition of any debate on the question of the numbers of the *energeiai* in Christ.² However, instead of the single *energeia*, a single will of Christ was openly confessed.¹

¹ ACO² I 156²⁰-162¹³; see CPG 7607; Winkelmann 50; Болотов, *Лекции* 475-476.

² 'Οὐδαμῶς συγχωροῦντές τινα τῶν πάντων μίαν ἢ δύο λέγειν ἢ διδάσκειν ἐνεργείας ἐπὶ τῆς θείας τοῦ κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ... ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν υἱὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν ἀληθινὸν θεὸν ἐνεργῆσαι ὁμολογεῖν τὰ τε θεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ πᾶσαν θεοπρεπῆ καὶ ἀνθρωποπρεπῆ ἐνέργειαν ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σαρκακωμένου θεοῦ λόγου ἀδιαίρετως καὶ ἀσυγχύτως προῖέναι καὶ εἰς ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀναφέρεσθαι διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν τῆς μιᾶς ἐνεργείας φωνήν, εἰ καὶ τισὶ τῶν πατέρων λέλεκται, ὁμῶς ξενίζειν καὶ θορυβεῖν τὰς τινῶν ἀκοάς, ὑπολαμβάνόντων ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει ταύτην

The *Ecthesis* as a state document, which concerned ecclesiastical affairs, had to be confirmed by ecclesiastical authority. In the last months before his death in December 638, Sergius convoked a synod, which confirmed the document.² The next Patriarch Pyrrhus (20th December 638 – 29th June 641; 9th January – 1st June 654)³ repeated this ecclesiastical ratification of the *Ecthesis* at a synod which he convoked soon after his enthronement.⁴ Pyrrhus issued an encyclical letter⁵ about the rulings of the synod.

προφέρεσθαι τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἡνωμένων δύο φύσεων.' ACO₂ I 160⁴⁻¹³.

¹ 'Τῶν δύο ἐνεργειῶν ῥῆσιν πολλοὺς σκανδαλίζειν, ὥς μήτε τινὶ τῶν ἀγίων καὶ ἐγκρίτων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μυσταγωγῶν εἰρημένην, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἔπεσθαι ταύτῃ τὸ καὶ δύο πρεσβεύειν θελήματα ἐναντίως πρὸς ἄλληλα ἔχοντα, ὥς τοῦ μὲν Θεοῦ Λόγου τὸ σωτήριον θέλοντος ἐκπληρωθῆναι πάθος, τῆς δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρωπότητος ἀντιπιπτούσης τῷ αὐτοῦ θελήματι καὶ ἐναντιουμένης, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν δύο τοῦ τάναντία θέλοντας εἰσάγεσθαι, ὅπερ δυσσεβὲς ὑπάρχει καὶ ἀλλότριον τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ δόγματος ... Πῶς δυνατόν τοὺς τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁμολογοῦντας πίστιν καὶ ἓνα Υἱὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν δοξάζοντας, δύο καὶ ταῦτα ἐναντία θελήματα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ παραδέχεσθαι;... Ἐν θέλημα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ὁμολογοῦμεν, ὥς ἐν μηδενὶ καιρῷ τῆς νοερῶς ἐψυχωμένης αὐτοῦ σαρκὸς κεχωρισμένως καὶ ἐξ οἰκείας ὁρμῆς ἐναντίως τῷ νεύματι τοῦ ἡνωμένου αὐτῇ καθ' ὑπόστασιν Θεοῦ Λόγου τὴν φυσικὴν αὐτῆς ποιήσασθαι κίνησιν, ἀλλ' ὅποτε καὶ οἶαν καὶ ὅσῃν αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἡβούλετο.' ACO₂ I 160^{14-19, 22-24, 25-29}.

² A fragment of a decree issued by the council was included in the protocols of the Lateran Council (ACO₂ II¹ 164²²⁻¹⁶⁶³⁵). Grumel dates the council November 638 (*Reg*). See Winkelmann 51; Hefele, *History* 5, 65.

³ See Van Dieten 57-75, 104-105; PmbZ 6386; Winkelmann *Der m.-m. Streit* 257-258; article of E. Reichert in *BBkl* <http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/p/pyrrhos.shtml> [29/05/2003].

⁴ Fragments of its acts are preserved among the documents of the Lateran: ACO₂ I 168³⁻¹⁷⁰⁷. Grumel dates the synodal decree end 638 – beginning 639; see CPG 7615; Hefele, *History* 5, 65; Grumel, *Reg* 294; Van Dieten 59-61; Winkelmann, 55.

⁵ Its text does not survive, but was mentioned in the letter of Pope John IV to the Emperor Constans (PL 80, 603^{ab}; ACO₂ II¹ 168¹³); see Grumel, *Reg* 295; Van Dieten 61; Winkelmann 56. As Grumel suggests, this letter is probably identical to the δογματικὸς τόμος mentioned by Pope Agatho (ACO₂ II¹ 108⁸, ¹² = PL 87, 1203^c). According to the scholar, the document was promulgated in 639.

According to the suggestion of B. Pheidas, this document was supported by all five Orthodox Patriarchs, namely by Honorius of Rome, Sergius of Constantinople, Cyrus of Alexandria¹, Macedonius of Antioch², and Sergius of Jerusalem³. They probably convened local synods in order to confirm the imperial document.⁴ This actually was an attempt to implement the authority of the concordance between the five Patriarchs (*pentarchy*). This implementation, however, put in danger the authority of the ecumenical Council. In the case of the *Ecthesis*, the pentarchy was called to substitute for an ecumenical Council.⁵ This policy, however, would be abandoned by Constantine Pogonatus.

What were the reasons for the Emperor's decision? It is widely accepted that the *Ecthesis* was a response to Sophronius' encyclical letter.⁶ If so, why was it not issued in 634, but five years later? The reason should be sought elsewhere.

¹ Sergius sent a letter to Cyrus with the attached *Ecthesis*. The letter does not survive, but is mentioned in the reply of Cyrus to Sergius (ACO₂ I 172¹²; Winkelmann 52). According to Grumel, the letter of Sergius was sent in November 638. This was one of Sergius' last letters, and he died soon afterwards. In his reply to Sergius (ACO₂ II¹ 172; see CPG 7612; Winkelmann 53), Cyrus enthusiastically approved the *Ecthesis*.

² Patriarch from 639 to after 649; see PmbZ 4678; *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire* I: 641-867 [CD]. Ashgate; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit* 235.

³ See PmbZ 6575; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit* 260.

⁴ See B Φειδᾶς, *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία* A' 738-739.

⁵ See B. Φειδᾶς, *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία* A' 750.

⁶ See, for instance, Hefele, *History* 5, 61, who refers to Pyrrhus' reply to Maximus: 'Σωφρόνιος, ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν πατριάρχης γενόμενος Ἱεροσαλύμων, τοῦτο ἡμᾶς καὶ παρὰ πρόθεσιν πρᾶξαι πεποιήκε, τὸν περὶ ἐνεργειῶν λόγον οὐκ ἐν εὐθέτῳ καιρῷ κινήσας.' (*Disputatio* 332^b). However, this sounds like an attempt of Pyrrhus to relieve himself of responsibility.

Maybe Heraclius wanted once more to attract the Monophysites¹, or expected the implementation of the new formula in future, given that the Romans had by that time not lost hope of recapturing the occupied territories? Or maybe he wanted to sum up and reconfirm the achievements of his ecclesiastical policy before leaving the political scene?² Or maybe at the end of his life he really believed that Monenergism-Monothelitism was true Orthodoxy which must be unanimously confessed throughout the Empire? Perhaps by issuing the *Ecthesis* he was leaving to his successor his last will for ecclesiastical policy? I think we cannot answer any of these questions with certainty. Heraclius' motives remain obscure and it is probably one of the major puzzles in the history of the controversy. What can be said more or less certainly is that there were no strong reasons to issue such a document.

The Patriarch Sergius, faithful companion of Heraclius for almost thirty years, died on the 9th of December 638. The Emperor was also old and wanted to see in the place of Sergius somebody similar to the late Patriarch, similar in character, in policy, and in methods. Pyrrhus appeared to be the right person to replace Sergius. He continued the implementation of the policy of Monothelitism. He was also amenable enough, as can be seen in his

¹ See J. Haldon, *Byzantium* 301.

² As W. Kaegi remarks, 'there were various motives for the publication of the *Ekthesis*. Heraclius hoped to settle remaining issues before his death, including the thorny problem of the imperial succession, theological disputes, and the Patriarchate. He probably also wished to show that he and his government could still do something. He may have timed its issuance for the centenary of Severos of Antioch's death in 638.' *Heraclius* 269.

vulnerability during the dispute with Maximus. Soon Pyrrhus became one of only a few persons in whom the old Emperor confided.¹ It is significant that Heraclius, feeling his death approaching, entrusted to Pyrrhus a significant sum of money, for the support of the unpopular empress Martina, 'so she would not be lacking funds if she were driven out of the palace by her stepson, the Emperor Constantine.'² Pyrrhus, however, did not fulfil Heraclius' hopes. After the death of the Emperor, he yielded to pressure from the Emperor's treasurer Philagrius, and surrendered the sum to him. He, in his turn, used the money to fight Martina and her sons. In this episode, the conformism and vulnerability of Pyrrhus became apparent once more. Before and during his patriarchate, Pyrrhus composed some theological treatises in support of Monenergism-Monothelitism, among which the sources mention the following:

a) *Encyclical letter*.³

b) *Tomus dogmaticus*, of which only a fragment survived.⁴ Here Pyrrhus admits that the phrase of ps.-Dionysus was deliberately changed from 'a new theandric *energeia*' to 'one new theandric *energeia*.' He affirms that this does not affect the sense of the phrase.

¹ See Kaegi, *Heraclius* 275.

² Nicephorus, *Short History* 29, 79.

³ Testified in Mansi 10, 683^{ab} = PL 80, 603^{ab}; ACO₂ II¹ 168¹³⁻³⁴; see Winkelmann 56.

⁴ ACO₂ I 152²⁷⁻³⁹; ACO₂ II² 606¹⁹-608⁵; see Winkelmann 57.

c) *Epistle to Pope John IV*. Its fragments were quoted at the sixth ecumenical Council.¹

d) Six books, which were mentioned at the thirteenth session of the sixth ecumenical Council.² Here Pyrrhus, apart from general theological topics, referred to the issues of *energeiai* and wills in Christ. Some texts were written by the hand of Pyrrhus.

After Heraclius' death on 11th of February 641, two hostile factions started a struggle for succession. Initially the faction of the Heraclius' second wife, Martina and her son Heracleonas gained the upper hand. Soon, however, they were deposed by the faction which supported Heraclius' successors from his first wife, Eudocia. The eleven year-old grandson of Heraclius, Constans II (641-668)³ became Emperor. As a result, Pyrrhus, who supported the party of Martina, was deposed, and Paul II (1st October 641 – 27th December 653)⁴ took his place.

¹ ACO₂ II² 626⁴⁻⁹; see CPG 7616; Grumel, *Reg* 296. According to Grumel, it was sent in 641.

² 'Παρεξέβαλον δὲ ἐκ τῆς βιβλιοθήκης καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία ἐξ ἐξέχοντα συντάγματα Πύρρου ... τὰ πολλὰ ιδιόχειρα αὐτοῦ τυγχάνοντα περὶ θελήματος καὶ ἐνεργείας καὶ ἐτέρων τινῶν.' ACO₂ II² 586⁸⁻¹¹. According to Winkelmann (n. 58), the books were written between 638 and 641.

³ See PmbZ 3691; *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I: 641-867* [CD]. Ashgate; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit* pp. 221-224.

⁴ See Van Dieten 76-103; PmbZ 5763; *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I: 641-867* [CD]. Ashgate; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit* 247-248.

4.5. MAXIMUS AND THE WEST: STRATEGIC ALLIANCE

Pyrrhus, after having been deposed from the patriarchal throne, came to Carthage, where he expected to gain the support of the exarch Gregory, who was opposed to Constantinople.¹ Gregory had made Dyothelitism part of his political agenda, and a motto for his resistance to Constans II.² In this context, he gladly harboured Dyothelite refugees from the East and supported ecclesiastic initiatives for the refutation of the imperial doctrine. In Carthage Pyrrhus met Maximus, whom he had by then known for some years. In late 633 or early 634 Pyrrhus, then an abbot at the monastery of Chrysopolis, asked Maximus to express his opinion concerning the *Psephos*.³ In reply⁴, Maximus endorsed the document as suspending any further advance of Monenergism. He praised Patriarch Sergius as a new Moses for issuing the *Psephos*, and complimented Pyrrhus.⁵ Twelve years later Maximus would express his regret for what he had written in this letter about the *Psephos*.⁶ Although at the initial

¹ See Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit* p. 208.

² See Averil Cameron. 'Byzantine Africa: the literary evidence.' In *Excavations at Carthage conducted by the University of Michigan*, edited by J. H. Humphrey, 29-62, 1978; esp. 38-51.

³ See Polycarp Sherwood. *An annotated date-list of the works of Maximus the Confessor, Studia Anselmiana, philosophica theologica; fasc. 30*. Rome: 'Orbis Catholicus', Herder, 1952, 42; Winkelmann 41. According to Sherwood, 'with this he (= Maximus) must have received a copy of Sergius' sentence (*Psephos*).'

⁴ Ep 19 PG 91, 589-597; see Sherwood 42; Winkelmann 42. Sherwood dates the epistle end 633, early 634.

⁵ Ep 19 PG 91, 592^c.

⁶ See *OpuscThPol* 9, 129^c-132^c.

stage of his theological activity Maximus obeyed the *Psephos* and avoided open confrontation with Monenergism, he occasionally touched on the issue of *energeia* and will in Christ. As early as his reply to abbot Pyrrhus, he emphasized two wills in Christ and posed the question of distinction between notions of ἐνέργεια and ἐνέργημα. Of relevance to the issue of *energeiai* and wills were the early works of Maximus, such as *Definitions of unions*¹, *Answer to the arguments of the Monenergists*², *Letter to George, very revered priest and superior who asked by letter about the mystery that is in Christ*³, *Various definitions*⁴ etc.⁵

¹ *OpuscThPol* 18, 213-216; see Sherwood 22; CPG 7697; Winkelmann 17. The third type of unions considered by Maximus, the habitual one, refers to the notion of will: "Ἡ κατὰ σχέσιν ἑνωσις ἐπὶ τῶν γνωμῶν εἰς ἓν θέλημα." This definition, according to Sherwood, 'would seem to place the whole group in the early period of ep. 2 and *Ambigua* II,' i.e. before 626.

² *OpuscThPol* 5, 64; see Sherwood 40; CPG 7697⁵; Winkelmann 35. According to Sherwood, the treatise was written 'by 633 ... Clearly this belongs to the Monoenenergistic stage of debate; probably also before the *Psephos* (634) as there is no hesitation in speaking of 1 and 2 operations.'

³ *OpuscThPol* 4, 56-61; see Sherwood 48; Winkelmann 48. According to Sherwood, it was published between 634 and 640. Here Maximus touches on the question of conflicting wills in Christ (60^a). As Larchet remarks, 'C'est dans cet opuscule en tout cas que l'on trouve la première position de Maxime contre le monothélisme.' (Jean-Claude Larchet. *Opuscules théologiques et polémiques, Sagesses chrétiennes*. Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1998, 27).

⁴ *OpuscThPol* 14; see Sherwood 50; CPG 7697¹⁴; Winkelmann 61. This is a collection of various definitions relevant to Triadological and Christological terms. The definitions of *energeia* and 'will' were placed at the end (PG 91, 152^b-153^b; С. Л. Епифанович, *Материалы к изучению жизни и творений преп. Максима Исповедника*. Киев, 1917, 68-70; *DoctPatrum* 256¹⁻⁶). As Sherwood suggests, 'it may be that the definitions of *energeia* and will were added to a series already formed for Monophysite controversy.' According to the scholar, it is highly improbable that these definitions were composed after the *Ecthesis* became known to Maximus.

⁵ Sherwood indicates some other treatises in which the distinction of gnostic and natural wills was made: *OpuscThPol* 2 and 3 of the year 645 (PG 91, 44^{cd} and 48^d), *OpuscThPol* 7 of the year 642 (PG 91, 81^d), *OpuscThPol* 20 composed by 640 (PG 91, 233^c), and *OpuscThPol* 16 written before 643 (PG 91, 185^d, 188^b, 192^{bc}).

Maximus launched his criticisms against Monenergism and Monothelitism probably around 640.¹ Among his openly anti-Monenergist and anti-Monothelite writings composed before 645 should be mentioned *letter to bishop Nicandrus*², *Dogmatic tomes to the priest Marinus*³, *letter to abbot Thalassius*⁴, *That it is impossible to say one will of Christ*⁵, *Ten chapters on the two wills of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ*⁶, *A comment on the passage of Matthew: Father, if it be possible let this cup pass from me (Matt 26, 39)*⁷, *From the things asked by the monk Theodore*⁸, *letter to John the Chamberlain*⁹, *On the two wills of the One Christ our*

¹ See A. Louth, *Maximus* 48.

² *OpuscThPol* 8, 89-112; see Sherwood 61; Winkelmann 63. According to Sherwood, its date 'must be about 640.'

³ *OpuscThPol* 7, 69-89; see Sherwood 73; CPG 7697⁷; Winkelmann 59 and *OpuscThPol* 20, 228-245; see Sherwood 49; CPG 7697²⁰; Winkelmann 60.

⁴ Only a fragment survives: Mansi 10, 677-678, which was translated into Latin by Anastasius Bibliothecarius (PL 129, 583^d-586^b); see CPG 7702; Sherwood 60; Winkelmann 62. Sherwood dates the letter 640, after Maximus received a copy of the *Ecthesis*.

⁵ *OpuscThPol* 24, 268; see Sherwood 62; Winkelmann 64. This letter is addressed to an uncertain person, who shared the Monothelite views.

⁶ *OpuscThPol* 25, 269-273; see Sherwood 63; Winkelmann 65. Addressed to an Orthodox and composed ca 640. Maximus defines various terms relevant to will.

⁷ *OpuscThPol* 6, 65-69; see Sherwood 64; Winkelmann 66. The text, according to Sherwood, 'would date ... at least from the first period of open opposition, 640-2.'

⁸ *OpuscThPol* 26, 276-280; Епифанович, *Материалы* 67; *DoctPatrum* 261²⁸-262¹⁰; see Sherwood 65; Winkelmann 67. The text contains definitions of *nature*, *ousia*, *individual*, *hypostasis* followed by a brief *florilegium* of twelve texts, among which two belong to Maximus.

⁹ *Ep.* 12, PG 91, 460-509; see Sherwood 66; Michel Diehl. *L'Afrique byzantine: histoire de la domination byzantine en Afrique*, 533-709, *Burt Franklin Bibliographical Series*, 15: New York, 1959, 543-547; Van Dieten 68; Winkelmann 71; sent in November-December 641. It provides almost no information about theological aspects of the controversy, but mostly about its historical background.

*God*¹, *Solution of the Theodore's questions*², *letter to Peter the Illustis*³, *Definitions of the will*⁴, *Definitions of the energeia*⁵ etc.

Thus, by the time Pyrrhus arrived at Carthage and met Maximus, the latter had developed an active opposition to Monothelitism and Monenergism. A clash between them was inevitable. In 645, they held a formal theological debate under the auspices of the exarch Gregory.⁶ Pyrrhus was defeated and departed to Rome with intention of accepting Orthodoxy from the Pope. However, as subsequent events would show, he was moved to Orthodoxy mainly by a desire to gain the political support of the exarch Gregory and the West, in order to regain the Patriarch's throne.⁷ When he learnt in 647 that the exarch Gregory had been murdered and his chances of using his political

¹ *OpuscThPol* 16, 184-212; see CPG 7697¹⁶; Sherwood 74; Winkelmann 84. Sherwood suggests that it was composed 'when first the controversy became openly Monothelite. Some time therefore after 643 seems indicated.' This is the most extensive treatise of Maximus on the *energeiai* and wills in Christ.

² *OpuscThPol* 19, 217-228; see CPG 7697¹⁹; Sherwood 75; Winkelmann 86. According to Beck, the text was composed after Paul was elected Patriarch (641-653) (Beck, *Kirche* 433); Sherwood: '642 or after.' This is an answer to two theological aporias posed by deacon Theodore.

³ The fragments were copied by Anastasius Bibliothecarius with the main point of interest the views of Maximus on the Roman see (*OpuscThPol* 12, 141-146; PL 129, 573-576; see CPG 7697; Sherwood 76; Winkelmann 88). According to Sherwood, 'the letter must be dated not only after Pyrrhus' deposition (Sept. 29, 641) but after Pope John's death (Oct. 11, 642) ... - in 643 or 644.'

⁴ Епифанович, *Материалы* 72-75; see CPG 7707²⁴; Winkelmann 90.

⁵ Епифанович, *Материалы* 76; see CPG 7707²⁵; Winkelmann 91.

⁶ *Disputatio* PG 91, 288-353/ Marcel Doucet. *Dispute de Maxime le confesseur avec Pyrrhus: intro., texte critique, tr. et notes par M. Doucet*: [Montreal], 1972; see CPG 7698; Sherwood 78; Van Dieten 84; Winkelmann 92; Болотов, *Лекции* 479-482.

⁷ See Болотов, *Лекции* 479.

support had vanished, he went to Ravenna and made his peace with the Monothelites. As a result, he was excommunicated by Pope Theodore who pointedly signed the decree with a pen dipped in a Eucharistic chalice.

Meanwhile Maximus continued his activities against Monothelitism. He wrote treatises and organized resistance in North Africa and Italy. During this period he composed the following texts relevant to the controversy: *Letter to the Cypriot Presbyter Marinus*¹, *To Marinus the very pious priest*², *Chapters from the treatise about energeiai and wills*³, *Chapters about properties of two natures of Christ*⁴, *13 chapters about wills*⁵, *10 chapters about wills and energeiai*⁶, and *To the Christ-*

¹ *OpuscThPol* 10, 133-137; Latin excerpts from the letter were copied by Anastasius Bibliothecarius (PL 129, 577-578); see CPG 7697¹⁰; Sherwood 79; Winkelmann 93. It was composed, according to Sherwood, in 645-646: 'The time of the debate with Pyrrhus, or the month before departure for Rome, seem most probable.'

² *OpuscThPol* 1-3, 9-37, 40-45, 45-56; see CPG 7697¹⁻³; Sherwood 80-82; Winkelmann 94. It is a collection of excerpts from some letters of Maximus to Marinus written, according to Sherwood, in 645-646.

³ Chapters 8, 50, 51 from the *OpuscThPol* 3: Епифанович, *Материалы* 72-75, PG 91, 40-56; see CPG 9697²⁻³; Sherwood 81-82; Winkelmann 84^a.

⁴ Winkelmann gives this common title to the three chapters published by Епифанович, *Материалы* 62. The chapters were taken from the Cod. Mosq. gr. 247 and have the following titles: 1. *Of the same, of the properties of the two natures of Christ*, ch. 58 (*OpuscThPol* 3^a); 2. *Of the same, from that on the wills and self-determinations of Christ*, ch. 59 (*OpuscThPol* 3^b); 3. *Of the same, from ch. 92* (*OpuscThPol* 3^c). On the text see CPG 7707¹⁷; Sherwood 83-85; Winkelmann 95. Епифанович suggested that the chapters were an elaboration of Maximus' texts, which was accomplished by John of Damascus. Sherwood, however, disagreed with this suggestion: 'The authorship of these three pieces can ... be finally determined only by a careful study of the relations of Maximus and the Damascene. A *prima facie* supposition, however, would seem to favor Maximus.' Sherwood 54. The collection should be attributed, according to Sherwood, to 645-646.

⁵ Епифанович, *Материалы* 64; see CPG 7707¹⁸; Winkelmann 96.

⁶ Епифанович, *Материалы* 66; see CPG 7707¹⁹; Winkelmann 97.

loving Fathers, superiors, monks, dwelling here in Sicily and the orthodox people¹. This activity soon brought results, and a series of local councils in Western Europe² and North Africa³ was held against Monothelitism.

After the death of Honorius, Severinus succeeded to the Roman see.⁴ His pontificate lasted about two months. However, he had time to oppose the *Ecthesis*. His successor John IV (24th December 640 – 12th October 642)⁵ convened a synod, which condemned Monenergism-Monothelitism and anathematized Sergius, Cyrus, and Pyrrhus.⁶ The definition of the council was sent to the Patriarch of Constantinople and to the Emperor. Heraclius sent a reply⁷ to John,

¹ *OpuscThPol* 9, 112-132; see CPG 7697⁹; Sherwood 86; Winkelmann 102. This is an apology of Maximus to the accusation that he professes three wills and three *energeiai* in Christ. It is addressed to the people of Sicily. Before submitting his apology, Maximus defended his faith orally. The text was written in Sicily 'from 646 or after; and doubtless before the Lateran council.' Sherwood 86.

² Councils at Orlean (Hefele, *History* 5, 69-70) and Rome (Hefele, *History* 5, 92-93).

³ Councils at Numidia, Mauritania, Byzacene, and probably Carthage (see Hefele, *History* 5, 89-93). These councils issued the following documents which were read out at the Council of Lateran: 1. *synodal epistle of the Church of Byzacium to Emperor Constans II* (ACO₂ I 74-76; see CPG 9394; CPL 976; Winkelmann 99); 2. *letter of Victor, the bishop of Cartage, to Pope Theodore* (ACO₂ I 98-102; PL 80, 637-644; PL 87, 85-92; see CPG 9396; CPL 874; Van Dieten 86; Winkelmann 100); 3. *letter of bishops of the Archdiocese of Proconsularia to Patriarch Paul* (ACO₂ I 81-95; CPG 9395; CPL 877; Winkelmann 101); 4. *synodal epistle of three African bishops* (ACO₂ I 67-71); see CPG 9393; CPL 875; Winkelmann 98.

⁴ See about him an article of E. Pulsfort in the *BBkl*
http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/s/s2/severinus_p.shtml [29/05/2003].

⁵ See PmbZ 2689; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, p. 220; an article of W. Schulz, *BBkl*
http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/j/Johannes_IV.shtml [10/06/2002].

⁶ *Libellus Synodicus* (Mansi 10, 607-610); Theophanes, *Chronographia* (de Boor 331); see Hefele, *History* 5, 67; Winkelmann 67^b.

⁷ A fragment is published in *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca* 39, p. 41 = PG 90, 125^{ab} = PL 129, 615^d. The letter was sent in the beginning of 641 but before the 11th of February, when Heraclius died; see CPG 9382; Winkelmann 68.

in which among other things he shifted responsibility for the *Ecthesis* onto Sergius. After the death of Heraclius on the 11th of February 641 Constantine, his son from his first wife, became the new Emperor (from 11th of February 641 to 24th of May 641). The West expected that the new Emperor would change his policy concerning Monothelitism. These expectations were expressed in the letter of Pope John to Constantine¹, in which the Pontiff tried to justify Honorius and condemned the efforts of Pyrrhus towards promotion of the heresy. Constantine, however, was soon dead, having been poisoned by his stepmother Martina, or so it was believed. The new Emperor was proclaimed Constans II. Two of his letters addressed to Pope John survive in Arabic translation.² Here the newly elected Emperor expresses his intention to be reconciled with Rome and to abandon whatever innovation had been adopted during the years that had passed. He had fulfilled his promise, but only in part and six years later, by issuing the *Typos*. Simultaneously Pyrrhus was replaced as Patriarch of Constantinople by Paul, who was a conscious Monothelite. This can be concluded from his epistles³ and the collection of his writings examined at the sixth ecumenical Council.¹

¹ Mansi 10, 682-686 = PL 129, 561-566; see CPG 9383; Winkelmann 69.

² 1) CSCO 50, p. 335; Latin translation PG 111, 1111^{ab}. 2) Cod. Vat. syr. 130, fol. 80b; Latin translation A. Mai, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* VI, 511. See CPG 9385; Van Dieten 79; Winkelmann 75.

³ See his synodic letter to Pope Theodore mentioned by Pope Martin at the Council of Lateran (ACO₂ I 18⁸⁻¹²); see Grumel, *Reg* 299; Winkelmann 76. According to Martin, Paul not only agreed with the Monothelite policy of his predecessors, but eagerly supported it and probably added some fresh arguments in defence of the doctrine. There is also another letter of Paul to Pope

Meanwhile, in November 642, a new Pontiff, Theodore was elected, a Greek refugee from Palestine.² His contribution to the rejection of Monothelitism was huge. On the one hand, he tried to convince the East to abandon the wrong doctrine.³ On the other hand, he started preparations for a major Council, where he wanted Monothelitism to be condemned with strong arguments. In preparing the basis for such a Council, he collaborated closely with Maximus, who arrived at Rome in 646. There Maximus, probably with the assistance of the Pope, worked on the preparation of *florilegia* in favour of the

Theodore (ACO₂ I 196-204; PG 87, 91-99; see CPG 7620; Grumel, *Reg* 300; Van Dieten 90; Winkelmann 104). It was sent in reply to the request of the *apocrisarii* of Pope Theodore. Paul here once again appears to be a consistent Monothelite. According to Grumel, the letter was sent in 646 or 647, while in the CPG the May 645 is suggested.

¹ ACO₂ II² 586¹²⁻¹⁷: 'ῥέγιστρον διαφόρων ἐπιστολῶν Παύλου ... ἐν ᾧ φέρεται ἐπιστολὴ γραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Παύλου πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἀγίοις Θεόδωρον τὸν γενόμενον πάπαν Ῥώμης περὶ ἐνὸς θελήματος καὶ προσφωνητικούς τοῦ αὐτοῦ Παύλου τόμους τρεῖς πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἀγίοις γενόμενον ἡμῶν βασιλέα ... περὶ θελήματος καὶ ἐνεργείας.' See Winkelmann 73.

² 24 May 642 – 14 May 649; see PmbZ 7769; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit* p. 274; G. Kreuzer, 'Theodor I,' *BBkl* http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/t/theodor_i_p.shtml [13/10/2002].

³ He sent a series of epistles to the Emperor, the Patriarch and the eastern bishops persuading them to abandon Monothelitism: a) *letter to Constans II*, which survives in two Arabic translations (1. *Acta Romanorum Pontificum* 521-524; Latin transl. A. Mai, *Nova Patrum bibliotheca* VI, 510; 2. CSCO 50 336-339; Latin transl. PG 111, 1111^c-1112^a; see CPL 1731; CPG 9386; Van Dieten 80-82; Winkelmann 77). It was sent at the end of 642 or in the beginning of 643 (CPG 9386). b) *letter to Patriarch Paul* (Mansi 10, 702-705 = PL 87, 75-80 = PL 129, 577-582; see CPL 1732; CPG 9387; Van Dieten 80-82; Winkelmann 79). Here Theodore condemns the policy of Pyrrhus and appeals to Paul urging him to abandon it. According to Caspar, the letter was sent before the 29th of May 643 (Caspar, *Geschichte* II 544). c) *Propositio* (Mansi 10, 705 = PL 87, 80-82 = PL 129, 581; see CPL 1732; CPG 9388; Winkelmann 80). d) *Letter to bishops who consecrated Paul of Constantinople* (Mansi 10, 706-708 = PL 87, 81f = PL 129, 581-584; see CPL 1732; CPG 9389; Van Dieten 80-82; Winkelmann 81). Here the Pope again condemns Pyrrhus. According to Caspar, the letter was sent before 29th of May 643 (Caspar, *Geschichte* II 544). See also a mention of another letter of Theodore to Patriarch Paul (*Liber Pontificalis* I 333; Winkelmann 107).

Dyothelite doctrine.¹ As Jean Pierres has shown, 27 out of 161 testimonies presented to the Lateran Council occur in the works of Maximus. He also designed the theological outlines and even the speeches of the prospective participants. As will be shown later on, many of the arguments and theological points expressed by the different speakers repeat the theses contained in the Maximus' writings. Moreover, as R. Riedinger has convincingly shown, the initial text of the Council's acts was Greek and probably composed by Maximus.²

4.6. THE *TYPOS*

Because of the active resistance of the West, which eventually led to a break of communion between the Churches of Rome and Constantinople, Constans II was threatened with the loss of control over this region, in addition to the loss of the eastern provinces and Egypt to the Arabs. He was therefore forced to revise and soften his policy over Christological issues. As a result, the *Ecthesis* was removed from the narthex of Hagia Sophia, and in 648, a new regulating document – the *Typos* – was issued.³

¹ On the Pope's involvement see Erich Caspar. 'Die Lateransynode von 649.' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 51 (1932): 75-137.

² See Rudolf Riedinger. 'Aus den Akten der Lateran-Synode von 649.' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 69 (1976): 17-38.

³ ACO₂ I 208-211; see CPG 7621; Van Dieten 92-95; Winkelmann 106.

According to western sources and information from Stephan of Dora, Constans was persuaded to issue this document by the Patriarch Paul. As with the *Ecthesis*, the *Typos* prohibited all the controversial formulas. Now, in addition to *energeiai*, the formulas of either one or two wills in Christ were prohibited:

We declare to our orthodox subjects that, from the present moment, they no longer have permission in any way to contend and to quarrel with one another over one will and one energy, or two energies and two wills.¹

The *Typos* approved only those expressions which were approved by Church tradition:

We should follow only the Holy Scriptures and the five deliverances of the five holy Ecumenical Synods and the simple utterances and confessions of the approved Fathers.²

Thus, as Bolotov remarked, the difference between the *Typos* and the *Ecthesis* consisted only in the fact that the former 'had the character of an edict, while the latter was a dogmatic treatise.'³ The *Typos* did not promote either theological formulas or arguments.

Meanwhile Constans, though he withdrew active support from Monothelitism, did not abandon it altogether. He still made use of it, as for example in his reported attempts to reconcile the Armenian Church. In 648 or 649, he issued an order that the Armenian Church must accept the

¹ ACO₂ I 208¹⁹⁻²³/Hefele, *History* 5, 95-96.

² ACO₂ I 208²⁷⁻²⁸/Hefele, *History* 5, 96

³ Болотов, *Лекции* 482-483.

Chalcedonian dogma, which the Armenians eventually refused to do at the synod of Dvin (649). In addition to this decision, they concluded a treatment with the Arabs that Armenia should break off with Byzantium and come under Arab authority.

4.7. THE LATERAN COUNCIL

After the death of Theodore, Pope Martin was elected his successor.¹ From the very beginning of his pontificate, Martin appeared to be an irreconcilable adversary of Monothelitism, more so than his predecessors. Thus, he ignored the confirmation of his election from both the Emperor and the exarch in Ravenna. Soon after having been elected, in October 649 he convened a Council in the Lateran basilica of Rome. This was the Council prepared by Pope Theodore, although he died before he could convene it. One hundred and five bishops took part in the Council, representing mainly Italy and Africa. The East was represented by the Palestinian bishop Stephan of Dora², whom

¹ See *Martino I Papa (649-653) e il suo tempo: atti del xxviii convegno storico internazionale: Todi, 13-16 ottobre 1991. Atti dei convegni dell'Accademia tudertina e del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale. Nuova serie; 5.* Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medievale, 1992; PmbZ 4851; *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I: 641-867* [CD]. Ashgate; G. Kreuzer, 'Martin I,' *BBKI* http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/m/martin_i_p.shtml [10/06/2002]; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, pp. 236-237.

² See PmbZ 6906; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, pp. 267-268; K.-H. Uthemann, 'Stephan von Dor,' *BBKI* http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/s/s4/stephan_v_dor.shtml [27/09/2002]. Stephan addressed a letter to the Council (ACO₂ I 38-46), in which he condemned Monothelitism and provided important information about the ecclesiastical situation in Palestine. According to Van Dieten, the letter was sent not long before the death of the Pope Theodore (14.05.649); see Caspar, *Geschichte* II 553; Van Dieten 96; Winkelmann, 82.

Sophronius of Jerusalem had earlier appointed as his *apocrisarius* to Rome. In addition, 'many pious abbots and monks, from among the Greeks' were present.¹

The synod followed theological outlines drawn by Maximus and possibly some other Greek monks. R. Riedinger has proved that originally the acts of the Council were composed in Greek and then translated into Latin.² I think this scholar went too far in suggesting that because of that the Council as such was a fiction.³ If it were true, neither Martin nor Maximus would have been condemned and exiled. In addition, it would be certainly uncovered by the Monothelites and used as a very persuasive argument against the 'forgeries' of the Dyothelites. The reality could be that the bishops were helped and given well-elaborated arguments in form of a draft composed previously by Maximus in Greek and then translated into Latin.⁴ Whatever is true, the fact is that in

¹ See a testimony in ACO₂ I 208²⁷⁻²⁸; see about them Jean-Marie Sansterre. *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne: milieu du VI^e s.-fin du IX^e s.* Bruxelles: Académie royale de Belgique, 1982, 9-30, 117-119. They submitted their own *libellus* (ACO₂ I 48-54; see Caspar, *Geschichte* II 556; Van Dieten 92; Winkelmann 108).

² See the bibliography on the acts in Winkelmann 110.

³ 'Die Lateransynode von 649 ist gewiß kein Konzil, dessen Geschichte und Lehrinhalt man allgemein als bekannt voraussetzen könnte.' R. Riedinger, 'Die Lateransynode von 649 und Maximus der Bekenner.' In Felix Heinzer and Christoph von Schönborn. *Maximus Confessor: actes du Symposium sur Maxime le Confesseur, Fribourg, 2-5 septembre 1980, Paradosis*; 27. Fribourg, Suisse: Editions Universitaires Fribourg Suisse, 1982, 111.

⁴ See Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* 253. This theory refutes Riedinger's objection that the western participants of the Council could not deliver their speeches because they simply did not speak Greek ('Für die Lateransynode von 649 bedeutet das, daß wir zwar ihren Aktentext besitzen, ebenso aber auch die Gewißheit, daß sie so, wie es dieser Aktentext nahelegt, nicht stattgefunden haben kann, denn die italischen Bischöfe haben gewiß keine Reden in

defiance of the *Typos*, the Council explicitly confirmed the doctrine about two *energeiai* and wills in Christ, condemned the *Ecthesis* and the *Typos*, and anathematized Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul of Constantinople. After the Council finished its work, copies of its acts and concluding encyclical letter were dispatched to the Emperor, eastern Patriarchs, and other bishops and monastic communities in the West, East, and North Africa.¹ Soon after the Council Maximus composed a letter², in which he seems to have counted it among the ecumenical Councils.³

In ecclesiastical terms, it was a triumph of Orthodoxy. In political terms, however, it was a rebellion, which had to be punished accordingly. The exarch

griechischer Sprache gehalten.' Riedinger, 'Die Lateransynode von 649 und Maximus der Bekenner' 118).

¹ See the epistles of Pope Martin: a) *encyclical* (ACO₂ I 404-421; see CPG 9403; CPL 1733; Winkelmann 111); b) *to the bishop of Traiectum (Maastricht) Amandus* (ACO₂ I 422-424; see CPL 1733; CPG 9404; Winkelmann 112); c) *to Emperor Constans II* (Mansi 10, 789-798 = PL 87, 137-146; see CPL 1733; CPG 9405; Van Dieten 99; Winkelmann 114); d) *to the Church of Carthage* (Mansi 10, 797-804 = PL 87, 145-146; see CPL 1733; CPG 9405; Van Dieten 99; Winkelmann 114); e) *to John of Philadelphia* (Mansi 10, 805-814 = PL 87, 153-164; see CPL 1733; CPG 9407; Van Dieten 99; Winkelmann 116); f) *to Theodore of Esbus in Arabia* (Mansi 10, 815 = PL 87, 163-166; see CPL 1733; CPG 9408; Winkelmann 117); g) *to Anthony of Bacatha* (Mansi 10, 817 = PL 87, 165-168; see CPL 1733; CPG 9409; Winkelmann 118); h) *to George the Archimandrite of the monastery of St Theodosius* (Mansi 10, 819f = PL 87, 167; see CPL 1733; CPG 9410; Winkelmann, 119); i) *to Pantaleon* (Mansi 10, 819-824 = PL 87, 169-174; see CPL 1733; CPG 9411; Winkelmann 120); j) *to Peter the Illustis* (Mansi 10, 825-826 = PL 87, 173-176; see CPL 1733; CPG 9412; Winkelmann, 121); k) *to the Churches of Jerusalem and Antioch* (Mansi 10, 827-832 = PL 87, 175-180; see CPL 1733; CPG 9415; Van Dieten 99; Winkelmann 122); l) *to Paul of Thessalonica* (Mansi 10, 833-844 = PL 87, 181-192; see CPL 1733; CPG 9414; Winkelmann 123); m) *to the Church of Thessalonica* (Mansi 10, 843-850 = PL 87, 191-198; see CPL 1733; CPG 9415; Winkelmann 124).

² Only a fragment of the letter survives: *OpuscThPol* 11, 137-140; see CPG 7697¹¹; Sherwood 88; Winkelmann 113.

³ He speaks about six ecumenical Councils. Combefis suggested that the sixth one is the Lateran. This interpretation was accepted by some scholars (Grumel, Sherwood, Winkelmann).

Olympius, who resided in Ravenna, went to Rome in order to arrest Martin for treason. The resistance of the populace, however, and Olympius' own reluctance prevented Martin from being arrested at this time. The next year a newly appointed exarch Theodore Kalliopas successfully accomplished this task. Martin was arrested and brought to Constantinople for trial. In the court the Pope was charged with treason and as a result deposed, defrocked, and exiled to Chersonese in the Crimea, where he died on the 16th of September 655.

Maximus was also heavily punished. He was arrested in Rome and brought to Constantinople for trial. Initially he was accused of treason, including support for the rebellion plotted by the exarch Gregory in Carthage. Such accusations probably comforted the Byzantine authorities, because in the person of Maximus they could find a scapegoat for the defeats of the Byzantine army in Egypt.¹ Apart from the accusation of treason, Maximus was also indicted of denying the Emperor's right to trespass into the realm of ecclesiastical authority and define dogmas of the Church. Eventually he was sent to Byzia in Thrace. In 656 Maximus was once more called to Constantinople for trial and eventually accused, tortured, had his right hand and his tongue cut off, and exiled to Lazica, where he died on the 13th of August 662. In the same year Patriarch Peter (8th June 654 – ca 12th October 666)²

¹ See Kaegi, *Heraclius* 295; *Byzantium and the early Islamic conquests* 217-218.

² See Van Dieten 106-116; PmbZ 5941; *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I*: 641-867 [CD]. Ashgate; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit* pp. 249-250.

convened a council in Constantinople, which anathematized Maximus, Martin and Sophronius.¹ He issued a *Psephos* containing the results of the council.²

Meanwhile in Rome, after Martin was dethroned, a new Pope, Eugenius I (10th August 654 – 2nd June 657) was elected.³ Eugenius appeared to be more accommodating towards Constantinople. In particular, he was ready to comply with the *Typos*. Only the resistance of the populace and the clergy of Rome prevented him from reaching a compromise with Monothelitism. He and his successor Vitalian (30th July 657 – 27th January 672)⁴ restored communion with the Monothelite Patriarch Peter.

4.8. THE SIXTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL

After Constans II was murdered on the 15th of September 668, his throne was taken by Constantine Pogonatus (668-685).⁵ The difficult military situation and permanent threats from the Arabs he inherited from Constans did not allow him to occupy himself with ecclesiastical affairs. By 670 the Arabs had

¹ See the summary in Mansi 11, 73-76. See also a mention in the confession of Patriarch Macarius (ACO₂ II¹ 230); Van Dieten 114; Winkelmann 148^a.

² Testified in: *Gesta* PG 90, 169^d-172^b = PL 129, 655^d; see Grumel, *Reg* 306; Van Dieten 114; Winkelmann 149.

³ See Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, 202-203; F. W. Bautz, 'Eugen I,' *BBKL* http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/e/eugen_i_p.shtml [10/06/2002].

⁴ See PmbZ 8582; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, 278-279.

⁵ See PmbZ 3702; *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I: 641-867* [CD]. Ashgate; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, 225-227.

captured Cyprus, Rhodes, Cos, and Cyzicus. In 672, Smyrna fell into their hands. Their ultimate goal was Constantinople, which eventually underwent an Arab blockade for five successive summers. Byzantines however managed to contain the Arabs and even to defeat them in several important battles. As a result Constantine in 678 forced them to sign a truce for thirty years. He used this breathing space to turn to his internal affairs, including ecclesiastical ones. The main point of his policy was to let the Church herself make a decision concerning her doctrine. The best means for this would be an ecumenical Council. As B. Pheidias remarks, during all fifty years of the controversy the erroneous tactic of the substitution of an ecumenical Council with the authority of the pentarchy of the Patriarchs was implemented. Constantine with his decision changed this tactic and restored the authority of the institution of ecumenical Council.¹ However, to implement this decision under the conditions of the time was not an easy task, given the Arab occupation of the eastern territories and of Egypt. Churches under occupation were unable to send their representatives to Constantinople. Therefore, a decision was taken to convoke a 'conference' of bishops. The Emperor addressed Pope Donus (2nd November 676 – 11 April 678)² a letter (*sacra*) inviting him to send his representatives to the

¹ Β. Φειδᾶς, *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία* Α' 570-571.

² See Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, p. 201; F. W. Bautz, 'Donus,' *BBKL* http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/d/donus_p.shtml [10/06/2002].

‘conference.’¹ By the time the letter reached Rome, Donus had died (11th of April 679), and the newly elected Pope Agatho (27th June 678 – 10th January 681)² entirely supported the initiative of the Emperor. However, he first decided to enlist the support of the Church of the West. For this purpose, he initiated local councils in different western provinces, as in Milan and at Hatfield in Britain. Also a local synod of the Roman Church was convoked with 125 bishops participating in it.³ Its decisions were set out in two ‘suggestions’ (ἀναφοραί) addressed to Constantine; one was sent by the Pope⁴ and another by the council⁵. These letters were read at the fourth session of the Council and then referred to in its *Horos*.

Meanwhile the political situation in the East changed, and the Churches on the territories occupied by Arabs could send their representatives to the Council. The newly elected Patriarch of Constantinople George I (December 679 – February 686)⁶ persuaded the Emperor to turn the proposed ‘conference’ into a fully-fledged ecumenical Council. The Council commenced its work on

¹ Mansi 11, 196-201 = PL 87, 1147-1154; see CPG 9416; Van Dieten 127; Winkelmann 156.

² See PmbZ 129, *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I: 641-867* [CD]. Ashgate; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, pp. 186-187; F. W. Bautz, ‘Agatho,’ *BBKl* http://www.bautz.de/bbk1/a/agatho_p.shtml [09/06/2002].

³ See Hefele, *History* 5, 140-142.

⁴ Mansi 11, 234-286 = PL 87, 1161-1214; see CPG 9417; CPL 1737; Van Dieten 132-134; Winkelmann 157.

⁵ Mansi 11, 286-315 = PL 87, 1215-1248; see CPG 9418; CPL 1737; Winkelmann 158.

⁶ See Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, p. 204.

the 7th of November 680 and it lasted until the 16th of September 681, with 18 working sessions.¹ The Monothelite party was headed by the Patriarch of Antioch Macarius² and his disciple Stephan³. Although formally Stephan was called a disciple of Macarius, it was rather Macarius who was under the influence of Stephan.⁴

In its first three sessions, the Council examined the acts of the third, fourth, and fifth ecumenical Councils correspondingly. When revising the acts of the fifth ecumenical Council, the authenticity of the *libellus* ascribed to the Patriarch Menas was thoroughly investigated, together with two letters ascribed to Pope Vigilius and addressed allegedly to the Empress Theodora and the Emperor Justinian. The documents were found inauthentic. Generally speaking, the Council was much occupied with the examination of the authenticity of various texts. Because of this characteristic feature, A. von Harnack called it 'the

¹ See the bibliography in Winkelmann 161.

² Little is known about Macarius. He inherited the see of Antioch from another Monothelite Patriarch, Macedonius, in November or December 669 and was eventually condemned at the sixth ecumenical Council. See PmbZ 4670; *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I: 641-867* [CD]. Ashgate; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, 231-234. Some of his writings survive in fragments: *Λόγος προσφωνητικός* addressed to Constans II (ACO₂ II¹ 508¹⁵⁻¹⁹; see CPG_{suppl} 7626²; Winkelmann 128); *letter to the African monk and presbyter Luke* (ACO₂ II¹ 610³⁻⁴; see CPG_{suppl} 7626³; Winkelmann 129); *a third sermon* (ACO₂ II¹ 508³⁻⁷; see CPG_{suppl} 7626¹; Winkelmann 130); *Libellus to Constans II* (ACO₂ II¹ 500¹³⁻¹⁵, 504⁵; see Winkelmann 130^a). See also a dissertation on theology of Macarius: J. Rissberger. 'Das Glaubenskenntnis des Patriarchen Makarius von Antiochien.' 1940.

³ See PmbZ 6920; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, pp. 263-267.

⁴ For example, in the letter addressed by the Council to Constantine, Stephan is characterized as an instructor of Macarius: 'Στέφανον τὸν τούτου (= Μακαρίου) μαθητὴν μᾶλλον δὲ λέγειν καθηγητήν.' ACO₂ II² 816³⁻⁴. See also the letter of Pope Leo to the Council (ACO₂ II² 878⁹).

Council of antiquaries and palaeographers¹, while Fr. J. Meyendorff remarked of it that, 'unlike the early councils which tended to debate theological issues for their own sake, the assembly of 680-1 focused on the issue of Tradition. The only question discussed was whether the earlier conciliar decrees and the writings of the Fathers could be used to justify the doctrine of "one *energeia*" and "one will" in Christ.'² At the fourth session the two 'suggestions' (ἀναφοραί) issued by Pope Agatho and the local council of Rome were analysed. From the fifth and up to the tenth sessions two sets of *florilegia*, the first in favour of single *energeia* and will, and the second in favour of two activities and two wills in Christ, were thoroughly examined with the object of establishing the authenticity of the former set.³ At the eighth session the bishop

¹ Adolf von Harnack. *History of dogma*. New York: Dover Publications, 1961, vol. IV, 261.

² Meyendorff, *Imperial unity* 371.

³ The following *florilegia* were either reported or examined during the controversy.

I. Dyothelite *florilegia*:

a) *Florilegium* compiled by Sophronius of Jerusalem. See the report of Stephan of Dora: 'παρασχόμενος ἐν δυσὶ βιβλίοις καὶ ἐξ ἑκατοντάδας πατρικῶν χρήσεων εἰς ἔλεγχον τῆς ἀσεβείας καὶ πίστωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας.' ACO₂ I 40²⁰. According to the testimony, it thus consisted of two books and contained 600 quotes.

b) *Florilegium* mentioned in the *OpuscThPol* 26 (PG 91, 276-280; see Winkelmann 68). This contained the definitions of Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Alexander of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, Athanasius of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, Diadochus, Anastasius of Antioch, Nemesis of Emesa concerning the notions of nature, essence, individuum, hypostasis.

c) *Florilegium* concerning the *energeiai* and wills in Christ (Maximus, *OpuscThPol* 27, 280-285; see CPG 769⁷²⁷; Sherwood 77; Winkelmann 89). It is commonly accepted that the *florilegium* was composed by Maximus. According to Sherwood, it might have been composed between 640 and 646.

of Melitene Theodore read out a document (χαρτίον), which contained the

d) *Spiritual and dogmatic tome addressed to Stephan the most holy bishop of Dora* (*OpuscThPol* 15, 153-184; see CPG 7697¹⁵; Sherwood 87; Winkelmann 105^a). This *florilegium* is the most extensive one among composed by Maximus, whose task here was to show that the *Ecthesis* is contrary to the Fathers and in agreement with the recognized heretics. Sherwood attributes the text to 646-647.

e) *Florilegium* of Maximus and his school (ACO₂ I 425-436; Cod. Vatic. gr. 1455, fol. 165^r-176^r; see Winkelmann 112^a).

f) *Testimonia Patrum* of Maximus and his school (ACO₂ I 258^l-314¹³; see CPG 9402²; Winkelmann 112^b).

g) *Florilegium* of Maximus and his school (ACO₂ I 84^l-90²⁶; see Winkelmann 112^c).

h) *Florilegium of heretics* collected by Maximus and his school (ACO₂ I 320²¹-334³⁵; see Winkelmann 112^d).

i) *DoctPatrum*.

j) Christological *florilegium* in support of Dyothelitism (ed. F. Diekamp. 'Ein christologisches Florilegium aus dem codex Athous Vatopedianus 507.' *Analecta patristica* (1938); see Winkelmann 131).

k) *Florilegium* of Pope Agatho (ACO₂ III 85^l-95²⁷; see CPG 9423; Winkelmann 157^a).

l) Dyenergist-Dyothelite *florilegium* (ACO₂ II^l 288^l-308¹⁶; see CPG_{suppl} 9429¹; Winkelmann 161^a).

m) *Florilegium* from the Cod. Ochrid. Musée nat. 86 (see Winkelmann 174).

II Monothelite *florilegia*:

a) *Florilegium* composed by George Arsas on request of Patriarch Sergius (see Winkelmann 9^a).

b) Catens composed by Macarius of Antioch (see ACO₂ II^l 232²⁴-260¹³; 268²²-274⁸; Winkelmann 127).

c) Monothelite *florilegium* of Macarius (see ACO₂ II^l 168⁴⁻¹⁴; Winkelmann 127^a).

d) Another Monothelite *florilegium* of Patriarch Macarius (see ACO₂ III 176¹³⁻²⁶; see Winkelmann 127^b).

e) *Florilegium* of Patriarch Peter (see *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca* 39, 101; Winkelmann 145^a).

f) Monothelite *florilegium* (ACO₂ III 370^l-390⁴; CPG_{suppl} 9429²; Winkelmann 161^b).

g) An untitled *florilegium* in Syriac (Cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 14535, foll. 1^r-20^r; see S. Brock, 'A Monothelete Florilegium in Syriac'; Winkelmann 170^b).

main points of the *Typos* that neither one nor two wills should be confessed in Christ. Among those who allegedly shared these theses, Theodore named Peter of Nicomedia, Solomon of Cleneus, Anthony of Hypæpa, monk Stephan, and five clerics of the Patriarchate. All of them, except Stephan, rejected this accusation and presented their confessions, which were considered at the tenth session. Also at the eighth session, Macarius was called to profess his faith. In response, he presented two confessions: one oral, another written. These confessions are probably the richest source for the *credo* of later Monothelitism. At the ninth and tenth sessions, passages of approved Fathers and proved heretics were read and analyzed. At the eleventh session, the synodic letter of the Patriarch Sophronius was read out. Also at this and the next session, writings and compilations composed by Macarius were presented to the Council and examined. This resulted in the condemnation of Macarius. A new Patriarch of Antioch, Theophanes, was elected to replace him. At the thirteenth session, the Council examined the documents found in the library of the Patriarchate and composed by Theodore of Pharan, Pope Honorius, Patriarchs of Constantinople Pyrrhus, Paul, Peter, Thomas, John, and Constantine. Also the Pact of the Alexandrian union was studied. At the fourteenth session, the fathers were occupied with the investigation of how the *libellus* ascribed to the Patriarch Menas and two letters ascribed to Pope Vigilius were interpolated into the acts of the fifth ecumenical Council. They concluded that the forgery was committed by Paul, Macarius, and Stephan. At the fifteenth session, the Council

dealt with the case of a fanatic hieromonk, Polychronius,¹ who presented a book with a Monothelite confession, which he claimed God had revealed to him. He asked the Council that the book be placed on a dead body, which he believed would be resurrected. A dead body was brought to the public baths of Zeuxippus (Ζευξίππου), where Polychronius put his book on the corpse and 'whispered' for 'many hours,' as the acts report. The corpse did not revive. After his public failure, Polychronius was given a chance to change his mind about Monothelitism. However, he refused, and was anathematized. At the sixteenth session, another particular case of Monothelite confession was investigated. This time it was a certain priest, Constantine, from Apamea. He could hardly speak Greek and presented a confession comprised of popular beliefs with Monothelitism as the central point. In particular, he admitted two natures and two *energeiai* in Christ and simultaneously a single will, which belongs to the 'person of Christ.' The human nature of Christ, according to Constantine, also had its own will, which however was stripped away together with 'flesh and blood,' when Christ resurrected. Constantine failed to explain his faith in detail and was condemned by the Council. At the end of the session the teaching about a single *energeia* and will of Christ was condemned, and Pope Honorius, the Patriarchs of Constantinople Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, Peter, Patriarch of Alexandria, Cyrus, Theodore bishop of Pharan, Macarius, Stephan,

¹ See PmbZ 6318; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, 255-257.

Polychronius, and Apergius of Perge¹ were anathematized.² Patriarch George proposed that they should not anathematise the Patriarchs of Constantinople, but only condemn their teaching. His proposition, however, was rejected. During the last two sessions, the final definition (*Horos*) was adopted. After the Council, as usual, a series of formal documents was issued, including the Emperor's *Edict*³, which was posted in the narthex of St Sophia.

4.9. MONOTHELITISM AFTER THE COUNCIL

Macarius, Stephan, and Polychronius, who were judged and condemned at the Council, asked the Emperor to allow them to go to Rome to be sentenced by the Pope.⁴ As B. Pheidas remarks, this should not be considered as an appeal to the See of Rome, because the decision of an ecumenical Council could not be revised by any authority. Also such a practice was not allowed by the legislation of that epoch.⁵ Apparently, the Emperor gave them one more chance to change

¹ This person is apparently identical with the Metropolitan of Perge Constantine who in 653 participated in the discussion with Maximus. See W. Brandes. 'Apergios Von Perge - Ein Phantomharetiker.' *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 48 (1998): 35-40; PmbZ 3706; *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I: 641-867* [CD]. Ashgate; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, 227.

² ACO₂ II² 580.

³ ACO₂ II² 832-856; see CPG 9438; Winkelmann 165. See also the epistle of Constantine to Pope Leo II (Mansi 11, 713-717; see CPG 9439; Winkelmann 166); *Sacra* of Constantine to the Roman council (ACO₂ II² 856-867 = PL 96, 399-412; see CPG 9440; Winkelmann 167); the epistle of the Council to Pope Agatho (Mansi 11, 683-696 = PL 87, 1247-1260; see Van Dieten 142; Winkelmann 164).

⁴ In the *sacra* of Constantine to Pope Leo II (ACO₂ II² 896³¹).

⁵ Β. Φειδᾶς, *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία* Α' 758.

their mind concerning Monothelitism. They, however, did not take advantage of the opportunity and were enclosed in one of the monasteries of Rome.

Dyenergism-Dyothelitism was restored as an official doctrine, which had to be kept throughout the Empire. In February 687, Emperor Justinian II (685-695, 705-711)¹ gathered in Constantinople all the chief provincial governors. The acts of the Council 680-681 were read aloud to them. The governors had to listen to the acts, sign them, and then promote the decisions of the Council in their regions. Before this, the same procedure was conducted with the palace officials, soldiers, and imperial guards.²

The issue of Monothelitism, however, did not disappear for good after the sixth ecumenical Council. At the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth centuries, the Empire passed through some severe crises, both external and internal. Frequent changes of Emperors who often usurped power dramatically reduced the authority of this institution.³ When in 711 Philippicus became an Emperor⁴, he set as one of his major tasks the restoration of the Emperor's authority. The most potent name associated with this authority was

¹ See PmbZ 3556; *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I: 641-867* [CD]. Ashgate; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, 218-220.

² See the letter of Emperor Justinian to Pope John V (ACO₂ II² 886-887 = PL 96, 425-428; see CPG 9442; Van Dieten 146-148; Winkelmann 169), in which he says that he ordered the acts of the Council to be kept in the archives and to be read to the higher ranks of the civil and ecclesiastical hierarchy. The epistle was sent on the 17th of February 687.

³ See e.g. the testimony of the deacon Agatho, Mansi 12, 192^a.

⁴ See PmbZ 6150; *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I: 641-867* [CD]. Ashgate; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, pp. 253-255.

that of Heraclius. This apparently impelled Philippicus to restore Monothelitism as an official doctrine of the Empire. His Armenian background probably also affected this decision.¹ He first informed the Pope about his intention to reinstall Monothelitism by issuing a *sacra*.² In 712, he convened a council in Constantinople, which condemned the sixth ecumenical Council and reconfirmed Monothelitism.³ On the results of the council a *Tomus dogmaticus* by Patriarch John VI (December 712 – July 715)⁴ was issued, of which only some testimonies remain.⁵ Trying to erase the memory of the Council, Philippicus ordered its representation in the imperial palace to be destroyed, together with the commemorative inscription on the Million gates of the palace. In place of the inscription, he placed his own portrait and the image of the Patriarch Sergius.⁶

¹ See J. Haldon, *Byzantium* 78-79.

² See Winkelmann 176. It was sent soon after December 11, 711.

³ See Hefele, *History*, 5, 257-259; Winkelmann 177.

⁴ See Van Dieten 166-173; PmbZ 2954; *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I: 641-867* [CD]. Ashgate; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, p. 214.

⁵ Mansi 12, 192^a-193^a; Theophanes, *Chronographia* (de Boor 382); Cedrenus 784¹⁵⁻²⁰; see Van Dieten 167-169; Winkelmann 177. See also the letter of Patriarch John to Pope Constantine, which was sent in the first four months of 712 (Mansi 12, 200^{bc} = PG 96, 1420^d-1421^a; see Grumel, *Reg* 321; Van Dieten 169-171; Winkelmann 178). In the letter the Patriarch insists on the Monothelite doctrine.

⁶ See André Grabar. *L'iconoclasme byzantin: le dossier archéologique*. 2e éd. rev. et augm ed, *Idées et recherches*. Paris: Flammarion, 1984. A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin: dossier archéologique*, 48 ff.

The restoration of Monothelitism caused energetic resistance in the West. Pope Constantine (25th March 708 – 9th April 715)¹ returned Philippicus' portrait, which the Emperor had sent to Rome, and rejected his Monothelite profession of faith. Philippicus' name was excluded from commemoration. In addition, Pope ordered the pictures of the six ecumenical Councils to be painted in St Peter's cathedral. On the 3rd of June 713, Philippicus was deposed by the army and blinded. Anastasius II became his successor. One of his first actions as Emperor was the restoration of Orthodoxy and the rejection of Monothelitism. He immediately informed the Pope of this by special *sacra*.² The Patriarch John VI was forced to apologize for his support of Monothelitism. He wrote a letter³ to the Pope assuring him that he had always been Orthodox. According to his words, it was the Emperor who had forced him to restore Monothelitism, and he yielded to his authority only οἰκονομικῶς.

In 715 Germanus ascended the Patriarch's throne.⁴ He convoked a council which condemned Monothelitism and the council of 712 for good. It reconfirmed the definitions of the sixth ecumenical Council.⁵ After the council a

¹ See PmbZ 1170, *Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I: 641-867* [CD]. Ashgate; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, 199-200; A. Breukelaar, 'Konstantin I,' *BBKl* http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/k/Konstantin_I.shtml [10/06/2002].

² Mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis* 1392¹⁷).

³ Mansi 12, 196-208 = PG 96, 1416-1433; see CPG 8000; Grumel, *Reg* 322; J. Pargoire. *Histoire de l'Eglise Byzantine de 527 à 847*. Paris, 1904, 167; Van Dieten 171; Winkelmann 180.

⁴ Patriarch from 11th August 715 to 17 January 730. See Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, 207-208.

⁵ See Hefele, *History* 5, 259.

formal letter was issued¹, in which the Patriarchs Sergius, Cyrus, Pyrrhus, Paul, Peter, and John were anathematized, and the faith in two natures, two wills and, two *energeiai* proclaimed.

Having been abandoned by the state by which it was initially propounded, Monothelitism survived in the former eastern territories of Byzantium occupied by Arabs. Dyothelitism and the sixth ecumenical Council were rejected there, as some surviving texts in Syriac testify.² Communities of Maronites, Chalcedonian Monothelites, preserved their identity up to the present day. This identity gradually turned from a doctrinal into a national one. Although during the Crusades the Maronites were absorbed into a union with the Roman-Catholic Church and gradually stripped of Monothelitism (some centuries later however!), they retained their national identity.

4.10. CONCLUSIONS

It is possible to conclude from the description of the historical context of the controversy that the motives of the imperial and ecclesiastic authorities towards promotion of the Monenergist-Monothelite doctrine were pragmatic.

¹ Testified in *Synodicon Vetus* 146; see Grumel, *Reg* 325; Winkelmann 180^d.

² See an untitled Syriac fragment on the sixth ecumenical Council published by Sebastian Brock. 'A Syriac fragment on the Sixth Council.' *Oriens Christianus* 57 (1973): 64-67; *Questions to Maximians*: S. Brock, 'Two sets of monothelite questions to the Maximianists.' *Orientalia Lovaniensia periodica* 17 (1986); *Monothelite florilegium*: S. Brock, 'A Monothelite Florilegium in Syriac'; *Syriac Vita of Maximus*: S. Brock, 'An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor'; see Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, p. 44.

Their goal was to gain the confidence of the Monophysites in Egypt, Armenia, Syria, etc. However, they did not create but recruited the *energeiai*-wills problematic, which existed before Heraclius launched his campaign of reconciliation with the Monophysites. As it has been shown in the chapters above, the confession of the single *energeia* in Christ was a shibboleth among the Monophysites. The topic was also discussed in Chalcedonian circles. When Heraclius launched his campaign, its main initiators, including Sergius and Cyrus, were not convinced Monenergists or Monothelites. They could easily accept both Monenergist-Monothelite and Dyenergist-Dyothelite conceptions. Their choice was determined mainly by political expedience and the wish to heal the rupture with the Monophysites. At some stage, however, Monenergism and especially Monothelitism turned into a self-standing quasi-Orthodox doctrine within the Chalcedonian camp, opposed to Dyenergism-Dyothelitism.

5. 'IMPERIAL' MONENERGISM-MONOTHELITISM VERSUS

DYENERGISM-DYOTHELITISM

In the present part, I will be examining, as far as existing sources allow, the 'imperial' or 'Chalcedonian' Monenergism-Monothelitism in its different phases. The doctrine of Dyenergism-Dyothelitism will be examined in parallel, in order to make clear what the two antagonistic doctrines had in common and in what they differed.

5.1. KEY NOTIONS

5.1.1. THE ONENESS OF CHRIST

The oneness of Christ was a starting point for followers of both Monenergist-Monothelite and Dyenergist-Dyothelite doctrines, owing to their common neo-Chalcedonian background. The Monenergists-Monothelites, however, laid more emphasis on it. Thus, in the relatively brief Alexandrian pact, the oneness of Christ is referred to more than 20 times. The statements about single *energeia* and will were normally preceded by confessions of the oneness of Christ.¹ At the first stage of development of Monenergism-

¹ For example, the symbol of the Alexandrian union confessed 'ένα Χριστόν, ένα Υιόν, μίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον φύσιν σεσαρκωμένην κατὰ τὸν ἐν ἀγίοις Κύριλλον.' ACO₂ II² 598⁵⁻⁶, and Patriarch Sergius in his Letter to Pope Honorius wrote about 'πάσαν θεοπρεπή καὶ ἀνθρωποπρεπή ἐνέργειαν ἐξ ἐνὸς καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σεσαρκωμένου Θεοῦ Λόγου ἀδιαιρέτως προῖέναι καὶ εἰς ἓνα ἀναφέρεσθαι.' ACO₂ II² 542⁶⁻⁷. The *Ecthesis* stressed the oneness of Christ with a series of synonymous terms: 'Ἐκ δύο φύσεων ἓνα Χριστόν ὁμολογοῦμεν, ἓνα Υἷόν, ἓνα

Monothelitism, when it was simply a permissible interpretation of the issue of the *energeiai* and wills of Christ, its adherents applied the Cyrillian language of unity and oneness of Christ not because they felt any need for it, but in order to gain the confidence of the Monophysite groups. At the second stage, when Monenergism-Monothelitism turned into a self-sufficient doctrine, the oneness of Christ became an integral part of it and a major reference point in support of the single *energeia* and will.

As for the Dyenergists-Dyothelites, they never argued against the oneness or wholeness¹ of Christ. On the contrary, they often began their expositions concerning *energeia* and will by postulating the oneness of Christ, though not so frequently and insistently as their opponents. For instance, in one of the earliest Dyenergist-Dyothelite texts, the encyclical of Sophronius, his exposition of faith concerning *energeiai* and wills begins with a reference to the oneness of Christ.²

Κύριον, ἐν πρόσωπον, μίαν ὑπόστασιν σύνθετον, καὶ μίαν φύσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένην σαρκί, ἐψυχωμένην νοερῶς.' ACO₂ I 158²⁹⁻³¹.

¹ However, wholeness for them was associated mainly with the hypostasis, as Maximus stated: 'τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἢ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ὑπόστασις.' *Disputatio* 333^d.

² 'Ὁ αὐτὸς μένων εἰς Χριστὸς καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ μονογενὴς ἀδιάτμητος ἐν ἑκατέραις καθορᾶται ταῖς φύσεσιν' ACO₂ II¹ 440¹⁷⁻¹⁸.

5.1.2. ONE HYPOSTASIS AND TWO NATURES

Although the Monenergists-Monothelites emphasized the oneness of Christ, they made a clear distinction between the notions of hypostasis and nature. They also distinguished between the two natures in Christ.¹ In so doing, they did not exceed the framework of Chalcedonian theology. Thus, the Monenergists-Monothelites considered the two natures of Christ to be united in the hypostasis of Logos unconfusedly, immutably, indivisibly, inseparably.² Christ had two births: one, eternal, from the Father, and another, temporal, from the Virgin Mary.³ He is consubstantial with the Father according to his divine nature and with us according to his humanity.⁴ He is like us except in sin.⁵ The Monenergists-Monothelites confessed the completeness of both natures of

¹ Regarding the terms 'nature' and 'hypostasis' see the letter of Patriarch Sergius to Pope Honorius (ACO₂ II² 542¹⁶); *Ecthesis*, (ACO₂ I 158²⁰⁻²¹); the confession of Patriarch Macarius (ACO₂ II¹ 226²⁰⁻²¹) etc. For the distinction between the two natures see, for example, the *Ecthesis* (ACO₂ I 158³¹⁻³²). Pyrrhus spoke clearly about this. When Maximus asked him: Christ 'εἰς τὴν ὑποστάσει, ἢ τῇ φύσει ἐστίν;', he answered: 'Τῇ ὑποστάσει τῇ γὰρ φύσει διπλοῦς τυγχάνει.' *Disputatio* 340^b.

² See the letter of Sergius to Honorius (ACO₂ II² 542¹⁰); *Ecthesis* (ACO₂ II¹ 222⁸); the confession of Macarius: 'Ὁμολογῶ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἓνα τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος εἶναι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν ἐν δυοῖ τελεῖαις φύσεσιν ἀσυγχύτως καὶ ἀδιαιρέτως.' ACO₂ II¹ 222¹¹.

³ See the confession of Macarius ACO₂ II¹ 222¹⁵⁻¹⁷.

⁴ *Ecthesis* confesses Christ 'ὁμοούσιον τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα καὶ ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν τὸν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα.' ACO₂ I 158⁸⁻⁹. See also the confession of Macarius (ACO₂ II¹ 222¹⁴⁻¹⁵). These beliefs of the Monenergists-Monothelites are contained not only in their own texts, but also appear in other Orthodox authors, for example Anastasius Sinaita: 'Τοῖνυν τέλειον πρεσβεύετε τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν θεότητι καὶ ὁμοίως τέλειον ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι, καὶ ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, ὡσαύτως καὶ ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα (*Opera* 2 VII 3³³⁻³⁶).

⁵ *Ecthesis* confesses Christ 'κατὰ πάντα ὅμοιον ἡμῖν χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας.' ACO₂ I 158⁹⁻¹⁰.

Christ¹ and their immutability.² Sometimes they spoke of 'one incarnate nature of God the Word' (μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη). They understood the expression, however, in a strictly Cyrillian sense.³ They also made use of other Cyrillian expressions, such as single Christ 'contemplated in'⁴ and coming 'from two natures'⁵ etc.

Although the Monenergists-Monothelites fully accepted the terminology of Chalcedon, the expressions they used were not identical with those usually employed by their Orthodox opponents. Both parties had their own preferences. In particular, regarding the human nature of Christ, the Monenergists-Monothelites favoured the expression 'flesh endowed with a soul' (ἐψυχωμένη σὰρξ)⁶, which they borrowed from Cyril.¹ The expression

¹ See *Ecthesis* (ACO₂ II¹ 598⁷⁻⁸).

² See, for example, *Ecthesis*: 'Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ θεότης μετακεχώρηκεν εἰς σάρκα, οὐδὲ ἡ σὰρξ εἰς θεότητα μετεβλήθη, ἀλλ' ἐν ιδιότητι τῇ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ μετὰ τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἔνωσιν ἑκάτερον ἔμεινε.' ACO₂ I 158³⁵⁻³⁶. Also the Patriarch Paul wrote to Pope Theodore that the two natures of Christ did not mix and did not change, despite the fact that Christ had only one will: 'Οὐκ ἐπὶ συναλοιφῇ παντοίως, ἢ συγχύσει τῶν δύο φύσεων τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρουμένων τὴν τοιαύτην τοῦ ἐνὸς θελήματος προσφέροντες φωνήν, ἢ ἐπὶ ἀναίρεσει θατέρως μόνην τὴν ἑτέραν εἶναι πρεσβεύοντες.' ACO₂ II² 608¹⁷⁻¹⁹. See also the confession of Macarius (ACO₂ II¹ 222⁵⁻⁸).

³ See, for example, the text of the Alexandrian pact: 'Μίαν Θεοῦ Λόγου φύσιν σεσαρκωμένην κατὰ τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις Κύριλλον, ... ὅπερ ἐστὶν αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.' ACO₂ II² 598⁶⁻⁸; also the letter of Sergius to Cyrus (ACO₂ I 138³⁻⁵).

⁴ ACO₂ II² 598¹²: 'ἐν δυοῖ θεωρεῖσθαι λέγων ταῖς φύσεσι.'

⁵ ACO₂ II² 598⁵⁻⁶: 'Εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ ἐκ δύο φύσεων, τουτέστι θεότητός τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος, ἓνα Χριστόν.'

⁶ There were several variations on this expression: 'λογικῶς τε καὶ νοερῶς ἐψυχωμένη σὰρξ' (letter of Patriarch Paul to Pope Theodore ACO₂ II² 608²⁰), and 'σὰρξ ἐψυχωμένη ψυχῇ λογικῇ τε καὶ νοερᾷ' (letter of Sergius to Cyrus ACO₂ I 136³¹).

more adequately represented their understanding of the human nature of Christ, which lacked its own will. The Orthodox also accepted this expression.² However, they used it in a somewhat different way. When quoting it, they emphasised that the human nature of Christ had its own will. As for the terminological preferences of the Orthodox, their favourite phrase regarding the two natures of Christ was 'forma' (μορφή).³ By using it, they wanted to underline the succession of their theology to the Christology of Pope Leo and his famous formula:

Each nature (*forma*) functions in communion with the other, as is fitting, with the Word truly doing what belongs to the Word and the flesh carrying out what belongs to the flesh. The one shimmers with miracles, the other succumbs to the injuries.⁴

In conclusion, the usage of basic Christological notions and formulas by both Monenergists-Monothelites and their Orthodox opponents was almost identical, and did not exceed the boundaries of Chalcedonian and Cyrillian

¹ See, for example: 'Ἄλλ' ὅτι σάρκα ἐψυχωμένην νοερώς ἰδίαν ποιησάμενος, παραδόξως προήλθεν ἄνθρωπος παρὰ τῆς ἁγίας Παρθένου.' *RespTiberium* 589¹²⁻¹⁴; 'Ἡθέλησε γάρ, ὡς Θεός, τὴν θανάτῳ καὶ ἁμαρτίᾳ κατεχομένην σάρκα, καὶ θανάτου καὶ ἁμαρτίας ἀποφῆναι κρείττονα, καὶ ἀνακομίσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἐν ἀρχαῖς, ἰδίαν αὐτὴν ποιησάμενος, καὶ οὐκ ἄψυχόν γε κατὰ τινος, ἐψυχωμένην δὲ μᾶλλον ψυχῇ νοερά.' *QuodUnus* 718²⁸⁻³².

² See, for example, the speech of Pope Martin at the 5th session of the Council of Lateran, in which the Latin word *natura* (ACO₂ I 359²⁹) corresponds to the Greek phrase 'ἐμψυχος καὶ παναγία σὰρξ.' ACO₂ I 358³¹. See also Maximus, *ep* 12 (PG 91, 496^c), *ep* 13 (PG 91, 525^a).

³ See Pope Agatho: 'forma id est natura.' ACO₂ II¹ 77¹⁸.

⁴ 'Agit enim utraque *forma* cum alterius communione quod proprium est, Verbo scilicet operante quod Verbi est, et carne exequente quod carnis est. unum horum coruscat miraculis, aliud subcumbit iniuriis.' *adFlav* 28¹²⁻¹⁴.

theology. At the same time, they put different emphases on the common formulas, in order to make them more fitting to their beliefs.

5.1.3. NATURAL PROPERTIES

Throughout the course of the controversy, the issue of wills and *energeiai* was considered in immediate conjunction with the question of the natural qualities or properties (αἱ φυσικαὶ ιδιότητες or τὰ φυσικὰ ιδιώματα). The Monenergists-Monothelites detached both the *energeia* and the will of Christ from his natural qualities, whereas the Orthodox included them in the range of the properties. The Monenergists-Monothelites and their Orthodox opponents did not, however, disagree with each other significantly as to the properties *qua* properties, though each still had their own preferences.

In particular, the Orthodox emphasized the invariability of the properties of each nature. The natural properties for them were immutable because they were attached inseparably to the natures. This was stated, for example, in the ninth anathema of the Lateran:

If one does not properly and truly confess, according to the Holy Fathers, the natural properties of Christ's divinity and humanity, which are preserved in him without omission and decrease (ἀνελλιπῶς καὶ ἀμειώτως) and truly ensure that the same is perfect God and perfect man according to nature, let him be condemned.¹

Although the properties were firmly linked each one to its nature, they interlaced with one another so closely that Sophronius named the same Christ

¹ ACO₂ I 574¹⁻⁸; 575¹⁻⁸.

visible and invisible, in the same way created and uncreated, bodily and unbodily, touchable and untouchable, circumscribed and uncircumscribed, earthy and heavenly, the same is the flesh endowed with an intellectual soul and divinity.¹

In other words, the unity of the natures caused a so-called *communicatio idiomatum*. Maximus was more comprehensive in his analysis of this phenomenon.² In particular, when Pyrrhus asked him:

What? Do the Fathers, whose doctrines constitute the law, the rule, the glory, and the pride of the Church, do they not say 'that from which comes the common glory (τῆς δόξης κοινόν) is one thing, and that from which comes the common humiliation (τό τῆς ὑβρεως) is another?' –

he explained that this was possible owing to the exchange of the natural properties. The exchange, however, does not mean that the natures or the properties underwent any alteration. He also noticed the logical consequence or rather precondition of the exchange, that it is possible only between two things, which moreover are not equal to each other:

That holy Father said this in reference to the mode of exchange of attributes (τῷ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως τρόπῳ). As is clear from the previous statement, the exchange (ἡ ἀντίδοσις) does not concern one, but two, things, and different kinds of things. According to the exchange, the natural attributes (τὰ προσόντα) of the two parts of Christ are exchanged according to the ineffable union, without a change or mixture of the natural principles.³

The *Report* of Pope Agatho, which was sent to the sixth ecumenical Council, contains some interesting supplements to the picture of *communicatio*

¹ ACO₂ II¹ 438¹⁹-440³.

² As L. Thunberg remarks, 'At this point (= *communicatio idiomatum*) he (= Maximus) seems to some extent to have made a pioneering contribution.' *Microcosm* 22. Here see also a brief history of the notion *communicatio idiomatum*.

³ *Disputatio* 296^d-297^a/Farrell, *The Disputation* 15-16.

idiomatum. The Pope wrote: 'We recognize that each of his natures has a natural property.'¹ Agatho used the term 'property' in the singular and not the plural as it was usually used. This means that for him, the qualities of the same nature constituted a single property, within which a variety of particular qualities was contained. Additionally, Agatho applied to the natural properties of Christ a Chalcedonian definition, which was normally ascribed to the natures. He wrote that the two properties of Christ (divine and human) were united unconfusedly, inseparably, and immutably:

And we recognize that each one (= of the two properties) of the one and the same incarnated, that is, humanated (= *humanati*) Word of God is in him unconfusedly, inseparably and unchangeably, intelligence alone discerning a unity, to avoid the error of confusion.²

This was not the only Chalcedonian definition applied to the natural properties. Another Chalcedonian expression called for during the controversy states that each nature preserves its own property and that the properties are united in the hypostasis:

The peculiarities of neither nature being lost by the union but rather the proprieties of each nature being preserved, concurring in one Person and in one subsistence.³

¹ 'Unamquamque ejus (= Christi) naturam proprietatem naturalem habere confitemur.' ACO₂ II¹ 61⁸⁻⁹.

² ACO₂ II¹ 61¹⁰⁻¹²/Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (NPNF), <http://www.ccel.org/fathers/NPNF2-14/6const3/letaga.htm> [23/07/2003].

³ Horos ACO₁ I² 129³¹⁻³³/NPNF, <http://www.ccel.org/fathers/NPNF2-14/6const3/faith.htm> [23/07/2003].

The keyword in this phrase is συντρέχω (*concurro*), which here can be translated as 'to run together so as to meet'.¹ Therefore, the natural properties run together without being mixed and meet each other in the hypostasis. This Chalcedonian definition was reproduced in the acts of the Lateran.² Pope Agatho also referred to it again later, in his *Report*.³

The Monenergists-Monothelites also believed that each nature of Christ possessed its own properties, which remained immutable in their union with one another.⁴ By the virtue of this union, the natures had *communicatio idiomatum*.⁵ The Monenergists-Monothelites did not miss an opportunity to emphasize that the exchange of natural properties between the natures was possible because of the oneness of Christ. The *Ecthesis*, in particular, illustrated this idea by a series of antinomies, which are similar to those used by

¹ Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. New [9th] ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940.

² See ACO₂ I 240³⁻⁵, 241²⁻⁴.

³ See ACO₂ II² 81¹³⁻¹⁴.

⁴ See, for example, *Ecthesis*: 'φυλάττει μὲν (= ὁ Χριστός) ἑκατέρας φύσεως τὴν ιδιότητα.' ACO₂ I 158²⁰; confessions of Macarius: 'σωζομένης δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ιδιότητος ἑκατέρας φύσεως.' ACO₂ II¹ 216¹⁴⁻¹⁵; 'Οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν φύσεων ἀφανίζεται, σώζεται δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ ιδιότης ἑκατέρας φύσεως ἐν ἐνὶ προσώπῳ καὶ ὑποστάσει μιᾷ.' ACO₂ II¹ 222⁷⁻⁹.

⁵ For example, Patriarch Paul wrote to Pope Theodore: "Ἐνὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένου τὰ τε θαύματα κηρύττομεν καὶ τὰ πάθη γνωρίζομεν, ἅπερ σαρκὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ἐκουσίως ὑπέμεινε. ὁθεν καὶ Θεὸς λέγεται παθεῖν καὶ Υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατεληλυθέναι." ACO₂ I 200²²⁻²⁴.

Sophronius: the same Christ is eternal and temporal, impassible and suffering, visible and invisible.¹

5.1.4. *ENERGEIA*

5.1.4.1. *NOTION*

One of the puzzling things about the controversy over Christ's activities is that the notion of *energeia* remained virtually untouched by discussion, although it played an important role in theological and polemical reasoning. Maximus alone tried to apply his penetrating analytic skills in deepening the common understanding of the notion, whereas the rest of the polemicists, both Monenergists and Dyenergists, used the notion as if they were already agreed upon a common understanding. It is even more puzzling given that the controversy proceeded against the background of a boosted interest in the categories of Aristotelian logic, which was in turn mainly induced by the Christological controversies of the epoch.² Aristotle's categories were commented on at that time by representatives of the Alexandrian Neoplatonic school, Elias³ and David¹, who adapted them for scholarly use.² They were

¹ "Ἐνα ἴσμεν Υἱὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ..., τὸν αὐτὸν προαιώνιον τε καὶ ἀπ' ἐσχάτων, ἀπαθὴ καὶ παθητὸν, ὁρατὸν καὶ ἀόρατον" ACO₂ I 158³⁷⁻³⁹.

² Thus M. Roueché links the Syriac commentaries on the *Isagoge* of Porphyry to the context of the Monoenergist-Monothelite quarrels (Mossman Roueché. 'Byzantine Philosophical Texts of the Seventh Century.' *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 23 (1974), 64).

³ Little is known about Elias. He belonged to the school of Olympiodorus, was Christian, lived and worked perhaps in Alexandria in the second half of the 6th century. See L. G. Westerink. 'The Alexandrian commentators and the introductions to their commentaries.' In Richard

followed by Stephan of Alexandria, the latest known philosopher of the school, who in 612 moved to Constantinople and was offered the position of professor at the imperial academy (οἰκουμενικὸς διδάσκαλος) by the Emperor Heraclius.³ Stephan might, according to John Moschus, have been a teacher of Sophronius in Alexandria.⁴ The distinctions and definitions applied by the three philosophers to various categories, including that of activity, constituted a background to the theological controversy of the seventh century⁵, given that Elias and David composed popular manuals in logic, Stephan might have taught Sophronius, and that all three worked in Alexandria, where Monenergism was promoted more than in other places. They in turn were

Sorabji. *Aristotle transformed: the ancient commentators and their influence*, *The Ancient commentators on Aristotle*. London: Duckworth, 1990, 336-339; Ch. Wildberg, 'Elias,' *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2003 Edition), E. N. Zalta (ed.) <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2003/entries/elias/> [17/06/2003].

¹ About David even less is known. He was also Christian and worked in Alexandria in the second half of the 6th or in the beginning of the 7th century. His works were translated into Armenian and became very popular in Armenia. See L. G. Westerink, 'The Alexandrian Commentators' 338-340. On Armenian translations of David, see the publication of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem <http://micro5.mscc.huji.ac.il/~armenia/repertory/david.html> [17/06/2003].

² See M. Roueché, 'Byzantine Philosophical,' 64.

³ Stephan of Alexandria (6/7 c.) was apparently a disciple of Elias. It is noteworthy that in 582 he reportedly disputed with Probus, initially a Monophysite and later the Orthodox metropolitan of Chalcedon. The point for Stephan was that the properties of the natures in Christ can remain unchanged only if they are considered through the prism of the Chalcedonian theology of two natures. See L. G. Westerink, 'The Alexandrian commentators' 340-341; A. Lumpe, 'Stephanos von Alexandria,' *BBkl*, http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/s/s4/stephanos_v_a.shtml [27/09/2002], in which an extended bibliography is provided.

⁴ See John Moschus, *PratSpirit* 2929^d.

⁵ See M. Roueché, 'Byzantine Philosophical' 63-64; A. Louth, *St John Damascene* 42-44.

dependent, both on Aristotle himself, and on his earlier commentators, primarily Porphyry. They paid significant attention to the notion of activity, and there was much in common in their interpretation of the notion and in what occurred during the controversy.

The first of them, Elias, preferred to call the activity ποίησις. To him, it was contrary to a passive acceptance of activities or passivity (τὸ πάσχειν)¹ and included the aspects of a process and of a result: 'For the *energeia* and the result (ἀποτέλεσμα) are called ποίησις.'² He called it 'movement,' in a remarkable reference to Plato: 'Plato called the existence (ὑπαρξιν) of every (= being) the essence (οὐσίαν), the communication he called identity (ταυτότητα), the difference (διαφορὰν) he called ἑτερότητα, and the *energeia*, movement (κίνησιν).'³ Thus, following Porphyry, he employed Plato's distinctions together with those of Aristotle.⁴ Elias put activity (together with passivity) in the category of qualities.⁵ *Energeia* for him was strictly a property of nature. He

¹ See *inAristotCat* 160^{3ff}. The opposition ἐνέργεια-πάθος has in fact occurred since the time of the Presocratics (see E. Pascher. 'Energeia.' *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 5: 4).

² *inAristotCat* 240²¹⁻²².

³ *inPorphyry* 53³⁻⁵.

⁴ On the issue of integration Platonism and Aristotelianism in neoplatonic tradition see A. H. Armstrong. *The Cambridge history of later Greek and early medieval philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967, 53-85; John Dillon. *The middle Platonists, 80 B.C. to A.D. 220*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977, 248-256; *Philosophia antiqua. A series of monographs on ancient philosophy*. Edited by W. J. Verdenius and J. H. Waszink. vol. 2, 3, 6, etc. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1947.

⁵ 'Συγγενές τὸ ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν τῇ ποιότητι, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἴδια τῆς ποιότητος ὑπάρχει τῷ ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν.' *inAristotCat* 240²³⁻²⁴.

spoke about nature which acts (ἐνεργεῖ ἢ φύσις)¹ and about natural *energeia* (τῇ κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργείᾳ)². The human body to him was passive and moved by soul.³ Elias also touched on the problem of the confrontation that occurs between the different parts of man. To him, the parts as such do not cause any opposition, which occurs exclusively on the level of *energeiai*.⁴ Following Aristotle, Elias drew a distinction between potential and actual beings: τῇ δυνάμει – τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ.⁵ The former corresponds to the category of power (δύναμις), the latter to the category of weakness (ἀδυναμία).⁶ This distinction was fundamental to Aristotle's understanding of *energeia*.⁷ It was, however,

¹ *inAristotCat* 112¹¹⁻¹².

² *inAristotCat* 112¹⁵.

³ 'Ἡ ψυχὴ χορηγεῖ αἰσθησιν καὶ κίνησιν τῷ σώματι' *inPorphyr* 12²⁵⁻²⁶; see also *inPorphyr* 43²⁵: 'ὑπουργῇ τὸ σῶμα ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνεργείαις.'

⁴ 'Ἀπορία' ὅτι εἰ τῇ οὐσίᾳ οὐδὲν ἐναντίον ἐστὶ, πῶς ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ θυμὸς μάχονται ἀλλήλοις; οὐσίαι γὰρ ταῦτα· τρία γὰρ μέρη τῆς ψυχῆς, λόγος, θυμὸς καὶ ἐπιθυμία, καὶ μάχεται ὁ θυμὸς καὶ ὁ λόγος, ὥς φησιν ἡ Μήδεια θυμὸς δὲ κρείσσων τῶν ἐμῶν βουλευμάτων. καὶ λέγομεν ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τὰς οὐσίας ἡ μάχη, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἐνεργείας· θυμὸς γὰρ καὶ λόγος οὐσίαι, τὸ δὲ θυμοῦσθαι καὶ λογίζεσθαι ἐνέργειαι εἰ δὲ ἐπαπορεῖ τις λέγων ὅτι αἱ ἐναντίαι ἐνέργειαι ὑπὸ ἐναντίων δυνάμεων προβάλλονται, αἱ δὲ ἐναντίαι δυνάμεις ὑπ' ἐναντίων οὐσιῶν, κακῶς λέγει· ἢ γὰρ αὐτὴ οὐσία ἐναντίας προβάλλεται ἐνεργείας.' *inAristotCat* 180⁹⁻¹⁷.

⁵ See, for example, *inPorphyr* 83ff.

⁶ 'Διαφέρει τοίνυν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἀδυναμία τῶν λοιπῶν εἰδῶν, ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν δυνάμει ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἐνεργείᾳ.' *inAristotCat* 223²⁶⁻²⁷.

⁷ As is known, Aristotle developed the concept of *energeia* in response to an aporia of the Eleatic school. The *aporia* emerged from the presupposition that every being (τὸ ὄν) can come into existence either from what already exists or from non-existence. Both options, however, appear to be impossible, because existing things already exist and because something cannot come from nothing. Hence, the origin (γένεσις) of things turns out to be impossible and the world therefore cannot exist. In reply to the aporia, Aristotle elaborated a distinction between potential and actual beings (δυνάμει ὄν and ἐνεργείᾳ ὄν). The origin, therefore, becomes possible owing to the passage of beings from the state of potentiality to the state of activity or

ignored by the theologians of both the Monenergist and the Dyenergist camps, who identified force and activity.

Another commentator on Aristotle, David, added some interesting features to the previously mentioned picture of *energeia*. He paid much attention to the relation of *energeia* and knowledge, having been apparently impelled to do so by the controversy provoked by the Agnoetes. He spoke in particular about the *energeiai* of the soul (ψυχικαὶ ἐνέργειαι)¹, among which he counted knowledge.² Knowledge is not a mere *energeia*, but prevails over the other activities, which are performed according to knowledge.³ David applied to knowledge Aristotle's distinction between potential and actual beings.⁴ He agreed with Elias that the body as such is motionless. Whatever feeling and motion it has is given to it by the soul.⁵ He followed Aristotle in linking nature

functioning (The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy, Robert Audi (ed.), Cambridge University Press, 1999, 264). I found the following works on Aristotle's conception of *energeia* helpful: David Charles. *Aristotle's philosophy of action, Paperducks*. London: Duckworth, 1986; А. Ф. Лосев. 'Античный космос и современная наука,' especially chapter *Учение Аристотеля о потенции и энергии*, in *Бытие Имя Космос*. Москва: Мысль, 1993; 'Акт и потенция' in *Философский энциклопедический словарь*. Москва: Советская энциклопедия, 1983, 17; E. Pescher, 'Energeia,' *RIACH*, V.

¹ in *Porphyrisag* 101².

² 'Ἐνέργεια γὰρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡ γνῶσις ἐστὶ.' *Proleg* 71¹²⁻¹³; see also *Proleg* 15²⁶⁻²⁷: 'ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶ νοῦ καὶ ἐπιστήμης δεκτικός· καὶ γὰρ μανθάνει τὴν κατ' ἐνέργειαν γνῶσιν.'

³ 'Κατὰ τὴν γνῶσιν τις ἐνεργεῖ.' *Proleg* 71¹³.

⁴ 'Ἰδοὺ γὰρ τὸ νεωστὶ τικτόμενον παιδίον οὐδὲν γινώσκει ἐνεργείᾳ ἀλλὰ δυνάμει λέγεται γινώσκειν.' *Proleg* 36¹⁷⁻¹⁸.

⁵ 'Χορηγεῖ τῷ σώματι ἡ ψυχὴ αἰσθησιν καὶ κίνησιν, καθ' ἣν ἅπαντες ζῶμεν.' *Proleg* 31¹¹.

and *energeia*.¹ The former to him is a source of both movement and motionlessness.² However, nature as source of movement and movement itself are not identical.³

As for Stephan, he thoroughly analyzed different cases of actions, especially in relation to their subjects. He also paid special attention to the verb ἐνεργέω and researched its various usages. To Stephan, *energeia* is an active action contrary to the passive one – πάθος.⁴ It is an action of essence. To him, whatever has the same activities also has the same essence.⁵ The former could be manifested by a verb, while the latter by a noun. Essence prevails over *energeia* as a noun does over a verb.⁶ Finally, Stephan made a distinction between actual and potential actions (τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ – τῇ δυνάμει).⁷

¹ See *inPorphyrIsag* 114²⁶⁻³⁴.

² 'Φύσις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ κινήσεως καὶ ἡρεμίας.' *inPorphyrIsag* 182²⁷⁻²⁸.

³ 'Οὔτε γὰρ φησιν ὡς ἡ φύσις ἡρεμία ἐστὶ καὶ κίνησις, ἀλλ' ἀρχὴ ἡρεμίας καὶ κινήσεως.' *inPorphyrIsag* 182³⁰⁻³¹.

⁴ See *inAristot* 7³⁰⁻³²: 'Τὸ γὰρ τύπτειν καὶ τὸ τύπτεσθαι πρὸς τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ τῷ τοιῷδε πάθει σημαίνει'; also: *inAristot* 2⁵, 13¹⁴⁻¹⁵ etc.

⁵ 'Ὦν δὲ αἱ ἐνέργειαι αἱ αὐταί, δηλονότι καὶ αἱ οὐσίαι αἱ αὐταί.' *inAristot* 35.

⁶ 'Τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῆς ὑπάρξεως καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐστὶν σημαντικόν, τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα τῆς οὐσίας ἐνέργειαν σημαίνει, προτερεῦει δὲ ἡ οὐσία τῆς ἐνεργείας, εἰκότως καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ῥήματος προταχθήσεται.' *inAristot* 3⁹⁻¹²; see also: 'Τὸ ῥῆμα σύμβολόν ἐστιν καὶ σημαντικὸν τῶν καθ' ἑτέρου λεγομένων οἷον ἐνεργείας καὶ πάθους.' *inAristot* 13¹³⁻¹⁴ etc.

⁷ 'Μὴ τὸ μὲν δυνάμει τὸ δὲ ἐνεργείᾳ· εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο, πάλιν οὐκέτι ἔσται ἀντίφασις, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀμφοτέραι αἱ προτάσεις ἀληθεύουσιν ἢ ἀμφοτέραι ψευδεῖς ἔσονται, ὡς τὸ παιδίον γραμματικὸν ἐστὶ, τὸ παιδίον γραμματικὸν οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐνεργείᾳ μὲν γραμματικὸν οὐκ ἐστὶ, δυνάμει δὲ γραμματικὸν ὑπάρχει. μὴ ἐν ἄλλῳ καὶ ἄλλῳ· δυνατόν γὰρ ἐν ἄλλῳ μὲν χρόνῳ Σωκράτης ὑγιαίνειν, ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ νοσεῖν, καὶ ἐὰν εἴπω Σωκράτης ὑγιαίνειν, Σωκράτης οὐχ ὑγιαίνειν, τὴν ἀντίφασιν οὐ ποιῶ.' *inAristot* 23¹⁶⁻²².

Apart from commentators on Aristotle, the theologians of the seventh century also relied on the patristic tradition, especially that of the Cappadocian Fathers. For instance, Maximus¹, Anastasius Sinaita², and John of Damascus³ employed a fragment from the Gregory of Nyssa's letter to Xenodor⁴, in which Gregory speaks about *energeia* as power and movement of a nature.⁵ Such a definition became the most popular in both Monenergist and Dyenergist texts.

5.1.4.2. 'A NEW THEANDRIC ENERGEIA'

On the 3rd of June 633, a pact of ecclesiastical union was signed in Alexandria between the Orthodox, with the recently elected Patriarch Cyrus at the head, and a group of Monophysites called 'Theodosians.' The union was based on the common conciliatory confession known later as 'the nine chapters.'

¹ *OpuscThPol* 281^{A-B}.

² *ViaeDux* II 4⁷⁶⁻⁸⁸, *Opera* 2 VII 3⁷⁻¹⁶.

³ *deVol* 34, 13-14 p. 218.

⁴ Of the entire treatise, only this fragment is preserved. It was published by F. Diekamp, *Analecta patristica: Orientalia Christiana analecta* 117. Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1938 (repr. 1962): 14-15.

⁵ 'Ενέργειαν γὰρ ἡμεῖς εἶναι φάμεν τὴν φυσικὴν ἐκάστης οὐσίας δυνάμιν τε καὶ κίνησιν, ἥς χωρὶς οὐτε ἐστὶν οὐτε γινώσκεται φύσις. νοερῶν γὰρ ἐστὶ νόησις, αἰσθητικῶν αἴσθησις καθ' ἣν αὐταὶ τε τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐφάπτονται φυσικῶς καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ὑποπίπτουσι, πτηνῶν πτήσις, νηκτῶν νῆξις, ἐρπηστικῶν ἐρψις, βαδιστικῶν βάδις, βλαστῶν βλάστησις. καὶ περιληπτικῶς εἰπεῖν, τὸ σημαντικὸν ἐκάστης ιδίωμα φύσεως ἐνέργειαν λέγομεν φυσικὴν ἥς μόνον ἐστέρεται τὸ μὴ ὄν. τὸ γὰρ οὐσίας τινὸς μετέχον καὶ τῆς δηλοῦσης αὐτὴν φυσικῶς μεθέξει πάντως δυνάμεως. ὅρους γὰρ τῶν οὐσιῶν τὰς φυσικὰς αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας ὁ ἀληθὴς ἐπίσταται λόγος.' *adXenodor* 4-13.

Aristotle first considered *energeia* and movement together (see, for instance, *Metaph* 8.3.7 [1047^a]). This idea was inherited also by the Stoics (see E. Pascher, 'Energeia').

The author of the document was Cyrus. However, it remains unknown whether he had co-authors from either the Chalcedonian or the Theodosian camp. However, there must surely have been consultations with the Monophysites. The author(s) of the document employed chiefly Cyrillian language: 'one incarnate nature of the Word,' single Christ 'contemplated in'¹ and coming 'from the two natures'² etc. Among other Cyrillian expressions, the 'theopaschite' formula that refers to Christ suffering according to his flesh and not suffering according to his divinity was used:

If anyone, using the expression, 'The one Lord is contemplated in two natures,' does not confess that he is 'one of the Holy Trinity' (ένα τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος), i.e. the Logos eternally begotten by the Father, who was made man in the last times;... but that he was 'ἕτερος καὶ ἕτερος,' and not 'one and the same' (ένα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν), as the most wise Cyril taught, 'perfect in Godhead and the same perfect in manhood,' and therefore contemplated 'in two natures,' 'the same suffering according to one (nature) and not suffering according to the other (nature)' (τὸν αὐτὸν πάσχοντα καὶ μὴ πάσχοντα κατ' ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο), as the same Saint Cyril said, i.e. suffered as man in the flesh, so far as he was man, but as God remained incapable of suffering in the sufferings of his own flesh; and that this one and the same Christ and Son worked both the divine and the human (τὸν αὐτὸν ἕνα Χριστὸν καὶ Υἱὸν ἐνεργοῦντα τὰ θεοπρεπῆ καὶ ἀνθρώπινα)...³

The author(s) of the document then passed from speaking of Christ as a single subject of all actions to a statement that had never occurred in Cyril:

... that this one and the same Christ and Son worked both the divine and the human by **one theandric *energeia***, as Saint Dionysius teaches,... let him be

¹ ACO₂ II² 598¹²: 'ἐν δυσὶ θεωρεῖσθαι λέγων ταῖς φύσεσι.'

² ACO₂ II² 598⁵⁻⁶: 'Εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ ἐκ δύο φύσεων, τουτέστι θεότητος τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος, ἕνα Χριστόν ...'

³ ACO₂ II² 598¹²⁻²¹. In Cyril: 'Ἵνα καὶ Χριστὸν σαρκὶ πάσχοντα νοῶμεν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων, καὶ ἀπαθῇ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα μέιναντα.' in *Psal* 69.1148⁴⁰⁻⁴¹.

anathema (τὸν αὐτὸν ἕνα Χριστὸν καὶ Υἱὸν ἐνεργοῦντα τὰ θεοπρεπῆ καὶ ἀνθρώπινα **μὴ θεανδρικῇ ἐnergieῖα** κατὰ τὸν ἐν ἁγίοις Διονύσιον).¹

With this addition, which attributed to Christ a 'single theandric *energeia*' (μὴ θεανδρικῇ ἐnergieῖα), a controversy began that lasted for almost a century. The formula 'single theandric *energeia*' was borrowed from the fourth epistle to *Gaius*, which is included in the *Corpus Areopageticum*:

For, even, to speak summarily, He was not a man, not as 'not being man,' but as 'being from men was beyond men,' and was above man, having truly been born man; and for the rest, not having done things Divine as God, nor things human as man, but exercising for us **a certain new theandric energy** of God having become man.²

The initial Dionysian text is not identical with the Monenergist formula of the Alexandrian pact. The Dionysian '**a new theandric *energeia***' was turned into the '**one theandric *energeia***'³ and in such a form was used henceforth by the

¹ ACO₂ II² 598¹⁸⁻²²/Hefele, *History* 5, 20 (modified).

² *CorpDionys* II 161; PG 3, 1072^{b-c}/Modified transl. by John Parker, The Saint Pachomius Library <http://www.ocf.org/OrthodoxPage/reading/St.Pachomius/diolet4.html> [23/07/2003]. The word θεανδρικός was virtually unknown in antiquity and occurred only in Christian writers, though quite rarely in the time before ps-Dionysius; see, for instance, Epiphanius of Cyprus: 'Ξεσάρκωται Θεὸς Λόγος· οὐ μὴν ἀνδρὸς ἐκ παθείας, ἀλλὰ θεανδρικῶς ἐκ Μαρίας ἐπιφανείς.' in *Palm* 43.432.40.

³ The works of ps-Dionysius were edited in the middle of the sixth century by the Chalcedonian theologian John of Scythopolis. The Greek manuscripts that survived (73 codices were examined in the critical edition of the letter to Gaius (see *CorpDionys* II 161)) go back to this edition of John, who could have changed the 'one theandric' into 'a new theandric,' in order to 'Chalcedonize' Dionysius (see A. Louth, *Maximus* 28-29, 54-56).

However, there are some testimonies that the initial text contained 'a new theandric *energeia*' and was not altered by John of Scythopolis. The earliest survived variant of the text is its Syriac translation accomplished in the beginning of the sixth century by Sergius of Reishaina (see Polycarp Sherwood. 'Sergius of Reishaina and the Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Denys.' *Sacris Erudiri* 4 (1952), 174-184). This translation, however, is not reliable, because it is in fact a remote paraphrase of the original Dionysian text. See, for instance, a relevant passage from the codex of the 7/8 c. Cod. Sin. syr. 52, fol. 119:

Monenergists.¹ This induced the later Orthodox opponents of the Monenergists to accuse them of deliberate alteration of the Areopagite's text. For example, at the third session of the Council of Lateran, bishop Deusdedit accused the

Եւ զայլոս իմաստաւորսն որ զայսոս ասէ թէ իմաստաւորսն
 զայսոս ընդ ասոս ասէ թէ իմաստաւորսն զայսոս ընդ ասոս
 ասէ թէ իմաստաւորսն զայսոս ընդ ասոս

իմաստաւորսն զայսոս ընդ ասոս ասէ թէ իմաստաւորսն զայսոս
 ընդ ասոս ասէ թէ իմաստաւորսն զայսոս ընդ ասոս ասէ թէ
 իմաստաւորսն զայսոս ընդ ասոս ասէ թէ իմաստաւորսն զայսոս
 ընդ ասոս ասէ թէ իմաստաւորսն զայսոս ընդ ասոս ասէ թէ
 իմաստաւորսն զայսոս ընդ ասոս ասէ թէ իմաստաւորսն զայսոս
 ընդ ասոս ասէ թէ իմաստաւորսն զայսոս ընդ ասոս ասէ թէ

A more reliable testimony is the Armenian translation which was performed approximately in the same period by Stephan, later Metropolitan of Siunik'. The Armenian text reads: 'So that we may sum up, he was not man – not as non-man but as from mankind beyond mankind, and supreme man he truly became man. Then he did not work things divine as God, nor things human as man, but God having become man he performed for us **some new** divinely-human activity.' Robert W. Thomson. *The Armenian version of the works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium; vol. 488-489, Scriptores Armeniaci; t. 17-18. Lovanii: In Aedibus E. Peeters, 1987, 166.* Another important witness is Severus of Antioch. The scholarship owes to him the earliest dated testimony about the *Corpus Areopageticum* (528), when his treatises against Julian of Halicarnassus, in which he refers to Dionysius, were translated into Syriac. Severus was apparently the first theologian who interpreted the Dionysian phrase in the Monenergist sense: "Ἡμεῖς, καθὼς ἤδη φθάσαντες ἐν ἄλλοις διὰ πλάτους γεγραφήκαμεν, τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ πανσόφου Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἀρεοπαγίτου τὴν λέγουσαν: "ἀλλ' ἀνδρωθέντος Θεοῦ καινὴν τινα τὴν θεανδρικήν ἐνέργειαν ἡμῖν πεπολιτευμένος", μίαν ἐνοήσαμεν σύνθετον καὶ νοοῦμεν, ἐτέρως ἡμῖν νοηθῆναι μὴ δυναμένην." *ad Ioan* 17-22. Thus, Severus as early as in the beginning of the 6th century read 'a **new** theandric *energeia*.' The text implies that '**one** *energeia*' is just Severus' own interpretation of the Dionysian expression. Concluding, there are many testimonies that the Dionysian text in its initial form contained 'a new theandric *energeia*' and no witnesses that the 'one theandric *energeia*' was used instead. These testimonies are provided not only by interested persons, but also by those who would prefer to read in the Dionysius' epistle 'one theandric *energeia*.'

¹ See, for instance, the letter of Sergius to Cyrus of Alexandria: 'Καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἓνα Χριστὸν ἐνεργεῖν τὰ θεοπρεπῆ καὶ ἀνθρώπινα μὲν ἐνεργείᾳ.' ACO₂ I 136³⁶⁻³⁷.

Patriarch Pyrrhus of having 'inmutavit dictionem beati Dionysii.'¹ The same accusation was brought against Cyrus and Sergius by Pope Martin.² The Monenergists did not argue against this accusation, nor did they deny that they had made an alteration. On the contrary, they persuaded their opponents that the phrases 'a new theandric *energeia*' and 'one theandric *energeia*' were interchangeable.³ The Dyenergists, however, refused to accept their identity. The Council of Lateran particularly examined this question. However, if one disengages from this contest and judges the formula from the point of view of theological rigorism, it seems to be more close to the Monenergist interpretation than to the Dyenergist one.⁴ The Orthodox, however, chose not to criticize

¹ ACO₂ I 153²²⁻²³.

² ACO₂ I 142³⁵-145³: 'Ο μὲν Κύρος ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ αὐτοῦ κεφαλαίῳ 'τὴν καινὴν' ὑπαλλάξας καὶ 'μίαν' ἀντὶ τῆς 'καινῆς' 'Θεανδρικὴν ἐνέργειαν' αὐτὸν εἰρηκέναι φήσας· ὁ δὲ Σέργιος ἐν τῇ περὶ τούτου πρὸς τὸν Κύρον ἐπιστολῇ τὴν τε τῆς καινῆς ὑπαλλαγὴν σὺν ἐκείνῳ κυρώσας, καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκυρώσας πάντη τοῦ διδασκάλου τὴν 'Θεανδρικὴν' ῥῆσιν καὶ 'μίαν' ἀπλῶς ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ δογματίσας 'ἐνέργειαν,' ποιήσαντες δόλον ὥσπερ ξυρὸν ἠκονημένον.' (Et Cyrus quidem in suo septimo capitulo 'novam' inmutando et 'unam' pro 'nova' asserendo 'deivirilem operationem' quasi dixisse doctorem perhibens, Sergius autem in epistola de huiusmodi quaestione ad Cyrum scripta tam inmutationem 'novae' cum illo confirmans, et non solum hoc, sed et doctoris [et] 'deivirilem' amputans penitus vocem et 'unam' absolute in Christo Deo dogmatizans 'operationem,' facientes dolum quasi novaculam acutam.)

³ See, for instance, the *Dogmatic Tome* of Patriarch Pyrrhus: 'Ἐνὸς δὲ, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ μόνου ἐπελάβετο κεφαλαίου Σωφρόνιος ὁ θεοφιλέστατος, ὡς χρῆσιν Διονυσίου τοῦ θεοφόρου παραποιήσαντος διδασκάλου "μῖας" φωνῆς ἐν ἀμείψει, εἰκότα δὲ λέγων ἐν τούτῳ δὲ μάλιστα ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀσφαλείας ἐχόμενα· ἐν οἷς φησιν ἐκεῖνος· "ἀλλ' ἀνδρωθέντος Θεοῦ καινὴν τινα τὴν θεανδρικὴν ἐνέργειαν ἡμῖν πεπολιτευμένος." "μίαν" γὰρ ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἀντὶ τοῦ "καινὴν" περιεῖχεν ὁ χάρις. οὐ κακούργως μᾶλλον, μὴ γένοιτο, κατὰ γε τὸν ἑμὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως νοεῖσθαι τῆς "καινῆς" ἢ "μῖας" δυναμένης παρὰ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου Κύρου τῆς τοιαύτης φωνῆς ἐντεθείσης.' ACO₂ I 152³⁰⁻³⁷.

⁴ See J. Pelikan, 'The Odyssey of Dionysian Spirituality,' in Colm Luibhéid and Paul Rorem. *Pseudo-Dionysius: the complete works, The Classics of western spirituality*. London: SPCK, 1987, 20.

Dionysius, but to defend him and to interpret his formula in the Dyenergist way. Apparently, Maximus was the chief promoter of this approach.¹

This was not something completely new and unknown before Maximus. The tradition of Dyenergist interpretation of the formula seems to be quite old. It is possibly older than the tradition of its Monenergist interpretation. Indeed, the earliest known Monenergist interpretation of the Dionysian formula was undertaken by Severus in his letter to John the abbot. Here the theologian remarks that he cannot interpret the expression of Dionysius otherwise than in the sense of the single *energeia*: 'We understood and understand ... one composite (= activity); it **cannot be interpreted otherwise** (ἐτέρως ἡμῖν νοηθῆναι μὴ δυναμένην).'² As Lebon remarks³, Severus could be responding to the information provided by John that there were some other, Dyenergist interpretations of the formula in circulation. The earliest known Dyenergist interpretation of the phrase was provided by John of Scythopolis in his *scholia* to the *Corpus Areopageticum*.⁴ John speaks of a 'compound' or 'mixed' activity of

¹ As J. Pelikan remarks, 'It had been the historic accomplishment of Maximus the Confessor to purge Dionysian spirituality of the interpretations that would have connected it to one or another heresy. The special status of Maximus as a saint and hero of the faith for both West and East lent his aura also to the Dionysian writings.' *The Odyssey* 23. The influence of Maximus could be seen, for instance, in the fact that Pope Martin called Dionysius 'Doctor.' ACO₂ I 146³¹; 147³⁰; 150⁶; 151⁵.

² *DoctPatrum* 309¹⁷⁻²².

³ See J. Lebon, 'Le Monophysitisme' 320 n. 1; 'Le pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite et Sévère d'Antioche.' *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 26 (1930), 894-895; A. Louth, *Maximus* 29.

⁴ See Beate Regina Suchla. *Die sogenannten Maximus-Scholien des Corpus Dionysiacum Areopagiticum, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. 1, Philologisch-historisch*

the Godhead and the manhood in Christ and simultaneously clearly distinguishes between the two *energeiai*:

Something new: Let no one foolishly say that he calls the Lord Jesus θεανδρίτης. For he did not speak of a θεανδριτική (*energeia*) – the adjectival derivative of ὁ θεανδρίτης – but of a θεανδρική activity, in some sense a compound activity of God and man. Whence he also speaks of God as ‘humanized,’ which is to say, God who had become a human being. He called this mixed activity alone a θεανδρική (activity). For he acted as God alone when he, although absent, healed the centurion’s child; but as human alone although he was God, in his eating and passion. He accomplished other miracles as a mixture, as when he healed the blind through an anointing and stopped a flow of blood by his touch.¹

In the seventh century, the first person who offered an Orthodox interpretation of the Dionysian formula was Sophronius. He distinguished three kinds of *energeiai* in Christ: divine, human, and ‘theandric.’ He ranked the latter between the two former ones (μέσιν τινὰ τάξιν ἐπέχουσιν).² In his interpretation, this was not a single activity, but a composition of two different and unconfused activities:

We speak also about a new and so-called theandric activity (κοινήν καὶ θεανδρικήν λεγομένην ἐνέργειαν) of this power, which is not one, but has different origins and various (components) (οὐ μίαν ὑπάρχουσαν ἀλλ’ ἐτερογενῇ καὶ διάφορον).³

The Orthodox interpretation of the Dionysian formula was developed further at the Lateran Council. Thus, Pope Martin interpreted it in a sense that

Klasse; Jahrg.1980, Nr.3. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980, 31-66; CorpDionys I 38-54; P. Rorem & J. Lamoreaux, John of Scythopolis.

¹ Rorem & Lamoreaux, *John of Scythopolis* 253.

² ACO₂ II¹ 456¹²⁻¹³.

³ ACO₂ II¹ 456¹³⁻¹⁵.

virtually means not a single *energeia*, but two activities, which are united in the same way as the natures of Christ:

The holy Dionysius did not wish to profess a single *energeia*, as they say, but a dual *energeia* of the one who is dual in nature, and so he used a composite expression (διπλὴν τοῦ διπλοῦ τὴν φύσιν συνθέτω φωνῇ ἐχρήσατο), denoting his two activities, according to (their) unity (δύο τοῦ αὐτοῦ καθ' ἑνωσιν ἐνεργείας).¹

Pope Martin tried to give his explanation why Dionysius spoke of this double *energeia* as a single one. For him, it was possible because of *communicatio idiomatum* and the unity of the natures of Christ in his hypostasis. In contradiction to Sophronius, Martin did not speak about purely divine or human *energeiai*. All *energeiai* of Christ are theandric and retain features of both natures:

Therefore, he (= Dionysius) wisely said that (Christ) performed neither divine (things) according to the Godhead, nor human (things) according to man (οὔτε κατὰ Θεὸν τὰ θεῖα δρῶν, οὔτε τὰ ἀνθρώπινα κατὰ ἄνθρωπον), in such a way declaring to us a complete unity – (the unity) of both the natures and his activities, according to the nature (ὥσπερ τῶν φύσεων οὕτω καὶ τῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργειῶν); because it is a property of this consummate unity that the same (Christ) acts supernaturally in the both ways, according to the exchange (τὸ κατ' ἐπαλλαγὴν ὑπερφυσίως ἐνεργεῖν τὰ ἑκάτερα), i.e. the divine (things) humanly, and the human (things) divinely. He does not perform the divine (things) by divinity alone (οὐ γὰρ γυμνῇ θεότητι τὰ θεῖα), nor does he perform the human (things) by the mere humanity (οὔτε ψιλῇ ἀνθρωπότητι τὰ ἀνθρώπινα), but, on the one hand, he performs miracles in an unusual manner through the flesh, which is endowed with the intellectual soul and united to him according to the hypostasis; on the other hand, he deliberately accepted, through his almighty power, the trial of his life-giving sufferings, for our sake. In such a way, he revealed the above unity and presented the difference; the unity he revealed by the putting together of the proper activities, by exchange (τῇ κατ' ἐπαλλαγὴν προσβολῇ καὶ συμφυῖα τῶν οἰκείων ἐνεργειῶν), and the difference – through preserving the natural property.²

¹ ACO₂ I 148²⁹-149³².

² ACO₂ I 148³²-151⁵.

Behind the Orthodox interpretation of the Dionysian formula at the Council of Lateran obviously stood Maximus. In his own works, he paid much attention to the Dyenergist interpretation of the formula. In particular, in his fifth *Ambiguum* he wrote that the Dionysian 'new theandric *energeia*' in effect does not imply a single activity, but unity of the two *energeiai*.¹ To him, the Dionysian formula signifies that the *energeiai* become known in and through each other (ἐν ἀλλήλαις τε καὶ δι' ἀλλήλων).² In such a way, the ineffable mode of disclosure (ἐκφανσις) of the two *energeiai* was denoted.³

Maximus interpreted other passages of the Fathers in which the reference to a single activity was made in the same sense. For instance, he explained in the Dyenergist sense Cyril's expression μία συγγενῆς ἐνέργεια, which was applied to Christ's activity of resurrecting the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue.⁴ According to Maximus, the single *energeia* mentioned by Cyril was neither hypostatic, nor natural, but indicated the unity of the Logos and the flesh in Christ, as well as a mutual coming together (συμφυΐα) and περιχώρησις of the two *energeiai*.⁵ In his *Dogmatic tome to Marinus*, Maximus

¹ *Ambig* 5, 1056^a-1060^c.

² *OpuscThPol* 8, 100^d.

³ See *Disputatio* 345^c-348^c; *OpuscThPol* 8, 100^b-101^a.

⁴ *inloan* PG 73, 577^{c-d}.

⁵ *OpuscThPol* 7, 88^a.

analysed a passage from the treatise of Anastasius of Antioch against the 'Arbitrator' of John the Philoponus¹, in which the Patriarch of Antioch stated:

Therefore, we speak about a single *energeia* of Christ, but not about a single property, let it be not, because the properties (ιδιότης) of the divinity and the humanity are not same.²

According to Maximus, Anastasius virtually implied two activities, because he recognized the difference of the properties of the two natures. In interpreting Maximus, Anastasius, by speaking of a single *energeia*, indicated an indissoluble union of the activities and unity of works accomplished by Christ.³ In his interpretation of 'single-energeia' expressions, Maximus went even further. He to some extent equated the 'single-energeia' and 'two-energeiai' expressions, because, in his opinion, they describe different aspects of the same reality. The former expressions indicate the unity of Christ, the latter ones the diversity.⁴ The lack of any of them would lead to a distortion of the true picture of Christ:

He who does not accept equally and appropriately both (= one-nature-energeia-will and two-natures-energeiai-wills expressions), applying the former to the union, and the latter to the natural difference, falls inevitably, as is normal, into either division or confusion.⁵

Now it is possible to draw some conclusions about the character of the Alexandrian union. The 'single theandric *energeia*' promoted by the author(s) of

¹ *contra Ioan Philop*, of which only a few fragments survive. The fragment which is analyzed here is preserved only in the *Dogmatic tome* of Maximus.

² *OpuscThPol* 20, 232^{bc}.

³ See *OpuscThPol* 20, 229^b-233^b.

⁴ See *OpsucThPol* 7, 88^b-89^d.

⁵ *OpuscThPol* 8, 105^a.

the pact was primarily one and related to Christ as the single subject of activities, but also retained some duality and relation to the two natures. This duality can be traced in the very word 'theandric,' which means 'divine-human,' but also must be observed by any follower of Cyril. Therefore, for the author(s) of the pact, Christ suffered according to his human nature and remained untouched by sufferings according to his divine nature.¹

The initial Monophysite Monenergism elaborated by Severus, as set out above, also presupposed some duality of the single *energeia*. The single *energeia* for Severus was not only divine, but rather retained both divine and human features. This initial conception, however, was altered by Theodosius, who preferred to consider the single *energeia* as entirely divine. Apparently, it was the Theodosian version of Monenergism which by the time of the union was widely accepted in the Monophysite circles of Egypt, though it remains unknown whether it was the only interpretation of the single *energeia* circulating in the region. Most likely, this was the version that the Melkite author(s) of the union used. Therefore, the Severan variant of Monenergism, which was implemented in the Alexandrian pact, was a compromise between the radical Theodosian Monenergism and Dyenergism. This means that the author(s) of the union did not blindly copy the Monenergism of the circles

¹ See ACO₂ II² 598¹⁸⁻²¹.

whom they tried to approach by means of the union, but admitted just a partial concession to their interpretation of the single *energeia*.

The Monenergism of the Alexandrian pact was rather coherent with the approach of Theodore of Pharan, who spoke of the single activity of the divinity and humanity:

Whatever the Lord has said or done, he said and did by means of the intellect, the senses, and the organs of sense. And therefore as of him, whole and one, is everything to be spoken of – the one *energeia* of the Logos, of the mind, and of the sentient and instrumental body.¹

It is noteworthy that Theodore considered the single *energeia* to be created by the Logos: 'We must recognize ... a single *energeia* and its artificer and creator, God.'² Pope Martin remarked concerning this statement at the Lateran Council:

If, as it was stated, God Logos is its artificer and creator, then, according to him (= Theodore), it (= *energeia*) is created; for whatever originates from the Logos through the creation, is created.³

Theodore was not limited in freely expressing his theological views by any political expediency and therefore at the initial stage of Monenergism openly confessed a single will of Christ, which, like the *energeia*, was for him completely divine: 'As for the divine will, it belongs to the same Christ, for his will is one and divine.'⁴

¹ ACO₂ II² 602⁴⁻⁶.

² ACO₂ I 124³⁻⁵.

³ ACO₂ I 124²⁶⁻²⁸.

⁴ ACO₂ II² 604⁵⁻⁶.

When the falsification in the Dionysian formula was revealed and heavily criticized by the Orthodox, the Monenergists abandoned the expression ‘one theandric *energeia*’ and came back to the initial ‘a new theandric *energeia*.’¹ What did the Monenergists imply at this stage by speaking of the ‘theandric *energeia*’? As has been said, the adjective ‘theandric’ presupposes a certain relation of activity to both the divine and human natures of Christ, and this relation was acceptable to the Monenergists at the early stage of the controversy. In the later Monenergist texts, however, the relation was not mentioned anymore. Macarius of Antioch was most explicit in this sense and openly stated that Christ acted neither according to his divine nature, nor according to his human nature:

(Christ did) neither divine (things) according to Godhead, nor human (things) according to man, but we confess, according to Saint Dionysius, that God Logos, who became man, had **a certain new theandric *energeia*.**²

One can see here an inconsistency between the early and the later interpretations of the theandric formula. At the early stage, some accordance between the theandric activity and the natures was admitted, whereas at the later stage it was rejected or at least neglected. Probably, however, it is not an inconsistency, but a further development of the distinction between activity as

¹ See, for instance, the oral confession of Macarius: ‘Οὐτε γὰρ τὰ θεῖα κατὰ Θεὸν οὔτε τὰ ἀνθρώπινα κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἀλλ’ ἀνδρωθέντος τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου **καινήν** τινὰ **τὴν θεανδρικήν ἐνέργειαν** πεπολιτεύεσθαι ὁμολογοῦμεν κατὰ τὸν ἅγιον Διονύσιον.’ ACO₂ II¹ 216²⁶⁻²⁸. He repeated this belief in his written confession: ‘Ἐνανθρωπήσας Θεὸς Λόγος **καινήν** τινὰ **τὴν θεανδρικήν ἐνέργειαν** καὶ ταύτην ὅλην ζωοποιὸν ἐπιδείκνυται.’ ACO₂ II¹ 222²⁰⁻²¹.

² ACO₂ II¹ 216²⁶⁻²⁸; see also ACO₂ II¹ 222²⁰⁻²¹.

such and its results. Activity for the Monenergists remained single, whereas its results could have some diversity and bear either a divine or a human character. This distinction was obviously implied in the Alexandrian pact ('the same single Christ did divine and human (things)).¹ Divine things (τὰ θεοπρεπή) and human things (τὰ ἀνθρώπινα) performed by the same Christ were considered here to be results of the single activity. Macarius in the aforementioned passages went further and denied any attribution of the single *energeia* to the natures. Instead, the results of activity could have either a divine or a human character. Macarius spoke about *energeiai* in two senses. Firstly, about 'simple *energeiai*' (ἀπλῶς ἐνέργεια), which can be either divine or human. These 'simple *energeiai*' seem to be identical with Christ's deeds, among which are miracles and passions. Secondly, it is 'theandric *energeia*,' which is a strictly single activity of Christ. Thus, a distinction between activity and its results helped the Monenergists to defend a single *energeia* in Christ and to avoid the accusation that they denied either a divine or a human quality to Christ's actions.

Maximus also made a distinction between *energeia* and its result, which he called ἀποτέλεσμα.² This distinction was basic for him. In order to rebut the Monenergist argument, which was based on the distinction between activity and its results, he asserted that the result is always correspondent to the activity.

¹ ACO₂ II² 598²⁰⁻²¹.

² *Disputatio* 341^b.

Therefore, in Christ the results of his natural *energeiai* were not confused. To illustrate this idea, he uses the metaphor of a burning knife:

Different actions have different effects (ἄλλης ἄλλο πράξεως ἀποτέλεσμα), not one effect, as was demonstrated by the example of the sword being hardened by fire. If the operation of the sword and that of the fire are both mutually united, and yet we observe that the fire's effect is burning and the iron's effect is cutting.¹

As has been mentioned, when the Orthodox accused the Monenergists of having changed the initial Dionysian 'a new theandric *energeia*' into 'one theandric *energeia*,' the Monenergists came back to the original variant of the formula. In such a way, they adopted one more characteristic of the single 'theandric *energeia*.' They accepted that it is new.² It is difficult to find in the surviving texts what the 'new *energeia*' really meant for the Monenergists. It is only possible to assume that the 'new *energeia*,' in the Monenergist interpretation, ranked between a purely divine and a purely human *energeia* and could not be identified with either of them. The Monenergists turned to the conception of 'a new *energeia*,' because it perfectly fitted their understanding of what the single *energeia* should be. Indeed, a single *energeia* of Christ must be nothing else but new and quite different from either divine or human ones.

Somewhat different was the Monenergism promoted by Pope Honorius. In reply to the letter of Patriarch Sergius, in which the latter informed him about

¹ *Disputatio* 341^b/Farrell, *The Disputation* 61-62.

² See the confession of Macarius ACO₂ II¹ 222²⁰⁻²¹.

the history of unions with Monophysites, he agreed that it was preferable to avoid speaking either of one or of two activities in Christ:

And if some who, so to speak, stammer, think to explain the matter better, and give themselves out as teachers, yet may we not make their statements to be Church dogmas, as, for example, that in Christ there is one energy or two, since neither the Gospels nor the letters of the apostles, nor yet the Synods, have laid this down.¹

However, he came to this conclusion not from a mere Christological agnosticism of the *Psephos*, but from a belief that the activities of Christ were neither one nor two, but multiple. Every action of Christ was to him an *energeia*: 'For we have not learnt from the Bible that Christ and his Holy Spirit have one or two energies; but that he works in manifold ways.'² Therefore, the Monenergism of Honorius was rather *Polyenergism*. However, even so, following the logics of the Monenergists, he preferred to ascribe activities to their single subject:

We must assert neither one nor two energies in the Mediator between God and men, but must confess that both natures are naturally united in the same Christ.³

The humanity of Christ rather served as a passive mediator through which the Godhead acted:

Lord Jesus Christ, the Mediator between God and man, worked the divine works by means of the manhood, which was hypostatically united to him, the

¹ ACO₂ II² 555³⁻⁶.

² ACO₂ II² 555¹⁶⁻¹⁸/Hefele, *History* 5, 31.

³ ACO₂ II² 625/Hefele, *History* 5, 50.

Logos, and the same worked the human works, since the flesh was assumed by the Godhead.¹

This led Honorius to exclude from Christ any human volitional activity and consequently to simple Monothelitism: 'We recognize one will of our Lord Jesus Christ.'²

5.1.4.3. TWO ENERGEIAI

When speaking of either the oneness of Christ who does both divine and human things³ or 'theandric *energeia*,' the Dyenergists always made a clear distinction between the two *energeiai*. In the course of their polemics with their opponents, they developed a range of classifications of both divine and human *energeiai*. The classifications varied from a simple enumeration of divine and human *energeiai* to more complicated and categorized sub-classes within these two groups. For example, bishop Deusdedit at the Council of Lateran developed a distinction between similar *energeiai* belonging to the different natures of Christ. For example, Christ speaks as God and as a man. Although the two *energeiai* of speaking in this case seem to be similar, on closer examination they appear to be quite different:

¹ ACO₂ II² 549¹⁶⁻¹⁹/Hefele, History 5, 28-29.

² 'Unam voluntatem fatemur Domini nostri Iesu Christi.' ACO₂ II² 551¹⁶.

³ See, for instance, Sophronius in his encyclical letter: 'Ὁ δὲ Ἐμμανουὴλ, εἰς ὧν., κατ' ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο ἐνεργῶν τὰ πραττόμενα, καθὼ μὲν Θεὸς ὁ αὐτὸς τὰ θεῖα, καθὼ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτὸς τὰ ἀνθρώπινα (ACO₂ II¹ 442⁴⁻⁷).

For he speaks as man and as God, and in both he has a power. As man he said: 'Now my soul is troubled' (John 12, 27); as God he said: 'I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it up again' (John 10, 18). To be troubled is a property of the flesh, while to have power to lay down and then take up the soul is a work of the faculty of the God Logos.¹

Sophronius was more detailed and more systematic in his exposition of different kinds of *energeiai*. To him, **human** *energeiai* can be divided into two categories. The first contains those human activities which **proceed** from human nature. They are **active** *energeiai*. Among them Sophronius enumerated birth 'according to flesh,' breast-feeding, growth of the body, becoming adult (or passing from one age to another, as Sophronius calls this process), hunger, thirst, and tiredness.² Another category comprises those **human** *energeiai* which were **accepted** by Christ as man. These *energeiai*, in their turn, may be grouped into two sub-categories. The first sub-category contains those performed by Christ as both their subject and object (**middle** *energeiai*, as in 'middle voice'). Sophronius enumerated among them sitting, sleeping, and slaking hunger and thirst.³ Another sub-category contains those *energeiai* which Christ accepted from somebody or something else (**passive** *energeiai*), as, for example, being conceived in the incorruptible womb of the Virgin, reclining in it, being carried

¹ ACO₂ I 356²⁻⁷; ACO₂ I 357²⁻⁶.

² 'Τόκον τεχθεὶς τὸν ἡμέτερον γαλακτοτροφεῖται καὶ αὖξεται καὶ τὰς σωματικὰς μεθελικώσεις διέρχεται, ἄχρις οὗ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἡλικίας ἀφίκετο τέλειον, καὶ πείναν τὴν ἡμῶν καὶ δίψαν προσδέχεται καὶ κόπον καθ' ἡμᾶς τὸν ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας ὑπέμεινεν. ἐποιεῖτο γὰρ καὶ τὴν πορευτικὴν ἡμῖν ὁμοίως ἐνέργειαν, ἥτις ἀνθρωπίνως ἐνεργουμένη καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν προβαίνουσα τῆς ἀνθρωπείας αὐτοῦ φύσεως ἐτύγγανεν ἐνδειξίς.' ACO₂ II¹ 448¹⁵⁻²⁰.

³ 'Διὰ τοῦτο πεινῶν διετρέφετο, διὰ τοῦτο διψῶν ἐποτίζετο καὶ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἔπινε ... διὰ τοῦτο κοπιῶν ἐκαθέζετο καὶ ὕπνον χρηζὼν ἐκάθευδεν.' ACO₂ II¹ 450⁴⁻⁶.

by the parents and embraced by the mother¹, feeling pain from blows and sufferings from flagellation and crucifixion². Finally, Sophronius considered the very fact that Christ had a body that can be depicted as a kind of suffering, or passive *energeia*. Christ was limited by the form of the body and this was a sort of pejorative *energeia*.³

Along with human activities, whether they proceeded from human nature or were accepted by it from outside, Christ performed the actions that **proceeded** from his **divine** nature. Among them Sophronius enumerated his conception without semen, leaping in the womb of Elisabeth, his incorruptible birth (in which the divine activity was directed upon the Virgin), the preserving of the virginity of Mary before, during, and after the birth, the revelation given to the shepherds on Christmas night, conducting the Magi by the star, bringing the gifts and worship, knowledge without learning, the changing of water into wine at the marriage in Cana, the healing of the ill, blind, lame, paralysed, leprous, the filling of the hungry, making the persecutors embittered, the taming of the wind and of the sea, walking on the sea, exorcizing the evil spirits,

¹ 'Εν μήτρᾳ συλληφθεὶς διεπέπλαστο καὶ ἦν εἰς αἰεὶ διετήρησε καὶ εἰς αἰῶνα διατηρεῖ τὸν ἀπέραντον ... διὰ τοῦτο παιδικῶς ἐβαστάζετο ἀγκάλαις παρθενικαῖς ἐποχούμενος καὶ κόλποις μητρικοῖς ἀνακείμενος.' ACO₂ II¹ 450³⁻⁶.

² 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἤλγει τυπτόμενος καὶ μαστιζόμενος ἔπασχε καὶ πόνους ὑπέμεινε σώματος χεῖρας καὶ πόδας τῷ σταυρῷ περονούμενος.' ACO₂ II¹ 450⁷⁻⁸.

³ 'Ὅθεν καὶ τόπον ὡς ἡμεῖς ἐκ τόπου μετέβαινεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος καὶ φύσιν τὴν ἡμῶν ἔσχεν ἀμείωτον καὶ περιγραφῆς ἠνέσχετο σώματος, καὶ σχῆμα τὸ ἡμῖν ἀρμόζον πεφόρηκε. σωματικὴ γάρ, τουτέστι σώματος, καὶ ἡ μορφή τυγχάνει τοῦ σχήματος.' ACO₂ II¹ 448²⁰-450².

earthquake, solar eclipse, opening the tombs, his resurrection after three days, the abolition of corruption and death, coming out of the tomb with the stone and seals untouched, coming through the closed doors, and his ascension into Heaven.¹ In contradistinction to human *energeiai*, God was not a passive object of any activity, but always their active subject. The system set out above is only an attempt to reconstruct what was implied by Sophronius, who himself did not go as far as to name and to describe the categories and subcategories of activities. However, he implied them by putting the *energeiai* of the same kind together.

Although the Orthodox made a clear distinction between the human and divine activities of Christ, they considered them to constitute a certain unity. To them, this unity was of the same character as the unity of the two natures. It could therefore be expressed by the Chalcedonian formula ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαίρετως, and ἀχωρίστως.² The *Horos* of the Council 680/681 applied this formula to the *energeiai* of Christ. Thus, the human and the divine *energeiai* are united inseparably, immutably, indivisibly, and unconfusedly:

We glorify two natural operations indivisibly, immutably, inconfusedly, inseparably in the same our Lord Jesus Christ our true God, that is to say a divine operation and a human operation.³

¹ ACO₂ II¹ 452¹²-454⁸.

² ACO₁ I² 129³⁰⁻³¹.

³ ACO₂ II² 776¹⁻³/NPNF <http://www.ccel.org/fathers/NPNF2-14/6const3/index.htm> [23/07/2003].

The natural *energeiai* of Christ, owing to their inconfusable unity, have a communication, which in preceding Christological tradition was ascribed mainly to the natural properties. As Pope Leo all but introduced the idea of *communicatio operationum*, let us so name it by analogy with the *communicatio idiomatum*.¹ During the controversy, Leo's statement was employed first by Sophronius who gave it his own explanation:

The Logos truly did what belongs to the Logos in communication with the body (μετὰ τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ σώματος), while the body carried out what belongs to the body, with which the Logos of the action (τῆς πράξεως) communicated.²

Thus, Christ acted as God with participation, *communicatio*, of the body and as a man with participation in the divine nature. After Sophronius, this idea was developed further at the Lateran Council. A speech attributed to Pope Martin contains a more explicit description of the *communicatio operationum*.³ Whatever Christ performed, he did both as man and as God. All his divine activities were done with the participation of the human nature and *vice versa*. In particular, in the miracles, which are divine *energeiai*, the human nature was involved together with the divine nature. In addition, the divine nature accepted the sufferings in unity with the human nature.

¹ 'Agit enim utraque *forma* cum alterius communione quod proprium est, Verbo scilicet operante quod Verbi est, et carne exequente quod carnis est. unum horum coruscat miraculis, aliud subcumbit iniuriis.' *ad Flav* 28¹²⁻¹⁴.

² See ACO₂ II¹ 442¹⁶⁻¹⁸. Dependence of Sophronius on Leo manifested itself also in the usage of the word *forma* (μορφή) for the natures: 'Δύο τὰς κοινῶς ἐνεργούσας μορφὰς δογματίζομεν.' ACO₂ II¹ 444⁴.

³ ACO₂ I 148³²⁻¹⁵¹⁵; ACO₂ I 149³²⁻¹⁵¹⁵.

5.1.4.4. CREATED AND UNCREATED ENERGEIAI

In the course of the controversy, the issue of createdness and uncreatedness of Christ's *energeiai* was touched on. It was employed mainly by the Dyenergists, who used it for polemical reasons. They emphasized that divine activity is uncreated and human activity is created. This statement was taken for granted and apparently had no need to be defended or proved, given that there are no traces of polemics about it in the surviving texts. The statement was used as an argument in favour of two natural *energeiai* in Christ. The reasoning was as follows. Christ had both divine and human *energeiai*. The former was uncreated, the latter one created. The two *energeiai* could not be united or mixed into a single activity because it is impossible to mix a created and an uncreated thing. The eventual product of such a mixture would be impossible. Such an argument, in particular, was employed by Pope Martin in his exploration of the Dionysian conception of 'theandric *energeia*.' The text ascribed to the Pope states that Dionysius implied two *energeiai* and not one, because otherwise it would mean that a created thing can be turned into an uncreated one, and *vice versa*, or they can be mixed together. In both cases, the changeability of either one or both natures of Christ becomes possible:

Dionysius used his phrase 'not in order to prove that two *energeiai* i.e., divine and human, are one and the same, as they claim, because this would imply their changeability and full disappearance (τροπή καὶ ἀφανισμός), and not to show that what is naturally uncreated became created, or what is naturally created became uncreated, or what is created and uncreated became by confusion one thing (ἢ τὴν ἄκτιστον κατὰ φύσιν κτιστὴν, ἢ τὴν κτιστὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἄκτιστον, ἢ κτιστὴν καὶ ἄκτιστον τὴν αὐτὴν κατὰ σύγχυσιν

παραστήσασθαι γενομένην), but to prove that one (activity) occurred without confusion through the other (ἵνα διὰ τῆς ἑτέρας τὴν ἑτέραν ἀσυγχύτως ἀποδείξῃ προερχομένην).¹

Apparently, Martin articulated the idea of Maximus who first employed the argument of created-uncreated activities during his disputation with Pyrrhus. Maximus stated, first, that there could be no middle status between being created and uncreated. Second, the very fact that a nature is created means that its *energeia* is created as well, and if it is uncreated, its *energeia* is uncreated too:

You are also forced to state whether this energy be created or uncreated, since in general nothing exists between the created and the uncreated natures (μέσον κτιστῆς καὶ ἀκτίστου οὐδεμία ὑπάρχει τὸ σύνολον). If you say it is created, then it will reveal only the created nature. Conversely, if you say uncreated, then it characterizes only the uncreated nature.²

Later the sixth ecumenical Council confirmed that Christ had a created human and an uncreated divine activity. These activities remained unchanged and could not be turned into each other or mixed. Otherwise, this would cause the changing of human nature into divine, and *vice versa*.³

¹ ACO₂ I 150⁶⁻¹¹. This argument was also applied with the reference to the formula of Leo: "Ὅπερ καὶ ὁ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας γενόμενος πρόεδρος Λέων ὁ ἀοίδιμος σοφῶς ἐννοήσας γεγράφηκεν· 'ἐνεργεῖ γὰρ ἑκατέρα μορφή μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας τοῦτο ὅπερ ἴδιον ἔσχηκε,' καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν 'ἐκμειοῖ ἢ 'ἐκτρέπει' ἢ 'συγχεῖ' ἢ 'ἐξαρνεῖται τοῦτο ὅπερ ἴδιον ἔσχηκεν ἑκατέρα μορφή' τῶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐνὶ Χριστῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἡνωμένων.' ACO₂ I 150²¹⁻²⁵.

² *Disputatio* 341^a/Farrell, *The Disputation* 61.

³ ACO₂ II² 776¹⁻¹⁰. In support of this idea, the fathers of the Council referred to Leo and to Cyril: 'Οὐ γὰρ δὴ πού μίαν εἶναι φυσικὴν τὴν ἐνέργειαν δώσομεν Θεοῦ καὶ ποιήματος· ἵνα μήτε τὸ ποιηθὲν εἰς τὴν θείαν ἀνάγωμεν οὐσίαν, μήτε μὴν τῆς θείας φύσεως τὸ ἐξαίρετον εἰς τὸν τοῖς γενητοῖς πρέποντα κατάγωμεν τόπον.' *Thesaurus* 453²⁷⁻³¹.

5.1.5. WILL

5.1.5.1. NOTION

As with the notion of *energeia*, the notion of will as such remained hardly touched by analysis from either Dyothelites or Monothelites, with the sole exception of Maximus. On what, however, did the disputing parties rely, when they employed the notion of will? Neither ancient nor contemporary philosophical tradition could be helpful for them. The former virtually ignored the will as an independent faculty.¹ As for the contemporary commentators Elias, David, and Stephan, they also passed over the issue in silence. The only source for the theologians could be a preceding theological tradition, which, however, remained quite poor concerning the issue. In this tradition, the word 'will' (θέλησις, θέλημα) was attributed mostly to God in a sense of his commandments and desire to save humankind.² In obedience to the Father's will, Christ became man and underwent sufferings.³ Men were also considered to be endowed with will. Thus, for Irenaeus, it is a free force of the human soul.⁴

¹ See about this Albrecht Dihle. *The theory of will in Classical antiquity, Sather classical lectures; v.48*. Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1982. This issue is analyzed in the chapter 'Will-nous.'

² See, for instance, Ignatius, *ep* 1 p 1⁴⁻⁵: 'ἐν θελήματι τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ'; Clement of Rome, *adCorinth* I 20.4²: 'κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ' (= God); Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 12.120.4⁴⁻⁵: 'τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς' etc.

³ See, for instance, Melito, *dePascha* 551: 'Ὁ Δέσποτα, εἰ καὶ ἔδει σου τὸν Υἱὸν παθεῖν καὶ τοῦτό σου ἔστιν τὸ θέλημα'; Justin the Martyr, *Apologia* 63.10⁴⁻⁵: 'Διὰ θελήματος Θεοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους ἄνθρωπος γενόμενος' (= Christ); Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus* 1.2.4.1⁴: 'Πατρικῶ θελήματι διάκονος, Λόγος Θεός.'

⁴ 'Θέλησίς ἐστι τῆς νοεράς ψυχῆς ... αὐτεξούσιος αὐτῆς ὑπάρχουσα δύναμις.' *Fragm* 5.6⁵.

For Didymus, it precedes any of our actions.¹ A deeper insight into the notion was achieved in the context of the Arian controversy. Gregory of Nyssa attributed it to the common nature of the Holy Trinity and ranked it together with such aspects of the nature as activity, strength, force, and purpose.² To him, it is a 'movement' (κίνησις)³ or 'deliberate movement' (αὐτεξούσιος κίνησις)⁴. So it was to Augustine, whose statement 'ipse animi motus, cogente nullo, voluntas est'⁵ was mentioned once in the *Report* of Pope Agatho⁶ and twice during the sessions of the Council 680/681.⁷

These and other definitions were referred to during the controversy and developed further by Maximus. In this thesis I shall not analyze in detail the distinctions of will which were provided by Maximus, first because they were seldom employed by other Dyothelites and secondly because this work has been already well done by other researchers.⁸ I only want to indicate here that

¹ 'Τῶν γὰρ πρακτέων ἡμῶν προηγείται βουλή καὶ θέλησις.' *adRoman* 5¹⁰⁻¹².

² 'Μία γὰρ καὶ ὁμοία ἡ ἐνέργεια Πατρὸς, καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, μία ἰσχὺς, καὶ μία δύναμις, μία θέλησις, μία γνώμη.' *adImag* 44.1344¹⁰⁻¹³.

³ *adAblab* 3,1.48²⁰⁻⁴⁹; see *adverMaced* 3,1.100⁷⁻¹¹.

⁴ *inEcclesiast* 5.407¹¹.

⁵ *adverJulian* 1475; see also: 'Voluntas est animi motus cogente nullo.' *Retractiones* PL 32, 609; *Liber sententiarum* PL 40, 729; *De duabus animabus* PL 42, 104.

⁶ ACO₂ II¹ 79²⁻⁶.

⁷ ACO₂ II¹ 248¹⁻²; ACO₂ II¹ 350¹⁻⁴.

⁸ See, for instance, François Léthel. *Théologie de l'agonie du Christ: la liberté humaine du Fils de Dieu et son importance sotériologique mises en lumière par saint Maxime le Confesseur, Théologie historique*; 52. Paris: Beauchesne, 1979; Joseph Farrell. *Free Choice in St. Maximus the Confessor*. South

Maximus drew nine definitions of will and some basic distinctions related to the issue. Firstly, he distinguished between the will as faculty of nature and objects of volition.¹ He called the former θέλησις or θέλημα, and the latter θελητόν or θεληθέν. Maximus illustrated this distinction by the example of God and the Saints, who have the same object – the salvation of the world. However, their wills remain different. The difference is that the divine will is by its nature saving, whereas human wills are by their nature saved.² Maximus developed this distinction in order to show that the fact that the human and divine wills of Christ are targeted onto the same object does not confuse them into one will.³ Another distinction introduced by Maximus was between the common and particular will, which was denoted by expressions ἀπλῶς θέλειν⁴

Canan, Pa.: St Tikhon's Seminary Press, 1989, based on the author's DPhil thesis at the University of Oxford: *Free Choice in St. Maximus the Confessor*: University of Oxford, 1987; a PhD thesis at the Yale University by Thomas Anastos. 'Essence, Energies and Hypostasis: An Epistemological Analysis of the Eastern Orthodox Model of God. 1986, where a special emphasis on the theology of Maximus is made; a PhD thesis at Fordham University by Michael Butler. 'Hypostatic Union and Monotheletism: The Dyothelite Christology of St. Maximus the Confessor.' 1993; a PhD thesis at King's College, London, by Dimitrios Bathrellos. *Person, Nature and Will in Ancient Christology with Special Reference to Saint Maximus the Confessor*. London: University of London, 2001; Д. Поспелов. 'Преподобный Максим Исповедник как историческое лицо и богослов,' in *Диспут с Пирром. Прп. Максим Исповедник и христологические споры VII столетия*. Σμάραγδος Φιλοκαλίας. Москва: Храм Софии Премудрости Божией, 2004, esp. 67-93.

¹ This was, according to J. Pelikan, an important contribution of Maximus to the development of the conception of will (*The Christian Tradition* 2, 74). This distinction, however, occurred as early as in the works of Irenaeus: 'Θέλησις ἐστὶ νοῦς ὀρεκτικός, καὶ διανοητικὴ ὀρεξις, πρὸς τὸ θεληθέν ἐπιτεύουσα.' *Frag* 5.6⁵.

² *OpuscThPol* 1, 21^c-28^a.

³ *Disputatio* 292^c.

⁴ *Disputatio* 292^b.

or πεφυκέναι θέλαιν¹ and πῶς θέλαιν.² I will dwell on this distinction in the chapter 'Will – One-Who-Wills.'

5.1.5.2. ONE OR TWO WILLS

As has been previously remarked, a favourite Monothelite expression for the human nature of Christ was 'flesh endowed with a soul' (ἐψυχωμένη σάρξ). The Monothelites preferred this expression because it could sound as though it excluded a will from human nature. Indeed, they deprived Christ's human soul of a will, which, in their belief was replaced by the divine will. This point of Monothelite doctrine was testified to in particular, by Anastasius of Sinai:

They (= the Monothelites), defining his (= Christ's) one simple and completely uncomposed will (ἀπλοῦν καὶ πάντῃ ἀσύνθετον θέλημα), say that the will of Christ was not theandric, common, or mixed, but simple, unmixed, and nothing participated in it (οὔτε θεανδρικόν, οὐ κοινόν, οὐ μικτόν, οὐ σύνθετον, ἀλλ' ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀμιγές καὶ πάντῃ ἀκοινώνητον). They do not think, know, count, or at all imply that his intellectual and immaculate soul had a certain power, habit, and property, which was rational (λογική), volitional (θελητικήν), and related to desire, will, thought, power, cultivation, reasoning, and wisdom (ἐπιθυμητικήν ἢ βουλευτικήν ἢ διανοητικήν ἢ ἐξουσιαστικήν ἢ γεωργητικήν ἢ ἐνθυμηματικήν ἢ σοφιστικήν), but say that the divinity and its will replaced all the mentioned faculties of our intellectual soul in Christ.³

Thus, the Monothelites believed that Christ had a single will, which was entirely divine and lacked any human element. They did not consider the will

¹ *OpuscThPol* 3, 48^a; *Disputatio* 293^a.

² *Disputatio* 292^d-293^a.

³ *Opera* 2 X 1⁶⁻¹⁸. See, for instance, Macarius: 'Τοῦ δὲ Θεοῦ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, εἰ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος αὐτοῦ – τουτέστι ὅλου τοῦ ἡμετέρου φυράματος – ταύτην ἐπλήρωσεν ἐνὶ καὶ μόνῳ θεῷ θελήματι, ὥς οὐκ ὄντος ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλου θελήματος.' *ACO* II' 244⁷⁻⁹.

as a mixture or a composition, as they did in regard to the single *energeia*. They never called it 'theandric.' For them the will remained plain and unmixed. The divine will enriched the human nature of Christ with what the latter was lacking – its own will, as summarized by Patriarch Paul:

His (= Christ's) flesh endowed with a rational and immaterial soul was through the same consummate unity enriched with divine (things), for it (= flesh) obtained the divine and invariable will of the Logos who united it with himself according to the hypostasis, and it was constantly led and moved by him.¹

Because it lacked its own will, the human nature of Christ was led and controlled by the divine will or command (νεῦμα), as it was sometimes called in the Monothelite texts from the time of the *Ecthesis*.² To the Monothelites, the very fact that the human nature was led by the divine commands excluded any possible conflict between the humanity and the Godhead in Christ. If there were

¹ ACO₂ I 200³²⁻³⁴.

² *Ecthesis*: "Ἐν θέλημα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ὁμολογοῦμεν, ὡς ἐν μηδενὶ καιρῷ τῆς νοερῶς ἐψυχωμένης αὐτοῦ σαρκὸς κεχωρισμένως καὶ ἐξ οἰκείας ὁρμῆς ἐναντίως τῷ νεύματι τοῦ ἡνωμένου αὐτῇ καθ' ὑπόστασιν Θεοῦ Λόγου, τὴν φυσικὴν αὐτῆς ποιήσασθαι κίνησιν, ἀλλ' ὅποτε καὶ οἶαν καὶ ὅσιν αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἡβούλετο." ACO₂ I 160²⁵⁻²⁹. Later Patriarch Paul reproduced this point of the *Ecthesis* in his letter to Pope Theodore. He wrote that the human nature of Christ was 'ἐν μηδενὶ καιρῷ ... κεχωρισμένως καὶ ἐξ οἰκείας ὁρμῆς ἐναντίως τῷ νεύματι τοῦ ἡνωμένου αὐτῇ καθ' ὑπόστασιν Θεοῦ Λόγου τὴν φυσικὴν αὐτῆς ποιησαμένης κίνησιν, ἀλλ' ὅποτε καὶ οἶαν καὶ ὅσιν αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἡβούλετο.' ACO₂ I 200³⁵⁻³⁷. See also the *Disputatio*, in which Pyrrhus asked Maximus: 'Οὐ νεύματι τοῦ ἐνωθέντος αὐτῇ Λόγου ἢ σὰρξ ἐκινεῖτο;' *Disputatio* 297^a. The same point was articulated in the confession of Macarius: "Ἡ δὲ σωτήριος τῶν θεοφόρων πατέρων διδασκαλία ἐναργῶς ἐκπαιδεύει τὸν μηδέποτε τὴν νοερῶς ἐψυχομένην τοῦ Κυρίου σάρκα κεχωρισμένως καὶ ἐξ οἰκείας ὁρμῆς ἐναντίως τῷ νεύματι τοῦ ἡνωμένου αὐτῇ καθ' ὑπόστασιν Θεοῦ Λόγου τὴν φυσικὴν αὐτῆς ποιήσασθαι κίνησιν, ἀλλ' ὅποτε καὶ οἶαν καὶ ὅσιν αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἡβούλετο." ACO₂ II¹ 224¹²⁻¹⁶. Anastasius Sinaita expressed this belief of the Monothelites in a more eloquent way: 'Ἀλλ' ἐχαλιναγωγεῖτο φησιν ὁ ὑπὸ τῆς θεότητος τοῦ Λόγου ὁ ἡνωμένος αὐτῷ ἄνθρωπος· καὶ ὑπέκειτο καὶ ἤγετο τῇ ῥοπῇ καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ καὶ βουλῇ τοῦ Δεσπότη τοῦ ἢ τοῦ δούλου μορφῇ.' *Opera* 2 VI 1⁵⁸⁻⁶¹.

a human will, however, such a conflict would be inevitable.¹ This was perhaps the most popular argument in support of the single will occurring in almost every Monothelite text, from the *Ecthesis* onwards.²

According to the Monothelites, the human will would conflict with the divine one because of its by definition liability to sin and corruption.³ They tended to identify a human will with a 'fleshy' (σαρκικόν) one, as they often called it. Such a characteristic occurs, for instance, in the confession of Macarius:

For we confess that our one Lord Jesus Christ is in a new image (ἐν εἰκόνι καινότητος) i.e., without fleshy wills (σαρκικῶν θελημάτων) and human thoughts (λογισμῶν ἀνθρωπίνων).⁴

Anastasius of Sinai provided a testimony that the Monothelites characterized an alleged human will of Christ as 'cosmic' (κοσμικόν)⁵, 'evil' (πονηρά)⁶, and even 'diabolic' (διαβολικόν)¹.

¹ See 'the principle of non-contradiction' in J. Farrell, *Free choice* 72-81.

² See *Ecthesis* ACO₂ 160, 13-29; also Patriarch Paul in his epistle to Pope Theodore: 'Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν θέλημα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Δεσπότου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ νοοῦμεν, ἵνα μὴ ἐναντίωσιν ἡ διαφορὰν θελημάτων ἐνὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ περιάψωμεν, ἡ αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ διαμαχόμενον δογματίσωμεν.' ACO₂ I 200²⁵⁻²⁸; Macarius of Antioch: 'Τοῦ δὲ Θεοῦ τὴν ἐνέργειαν, εἰ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος αὐτοῦ – τουτέστιν ὅλου τοῦ ἡμετέρου φυράματος – ταύτην ἐπλήρωσεν ἐνὶ καὶ μόνῳ θείῳ θελήματι, ὡς οὐκ ὄντος ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλου θελήματος ἡ ἀντιπίπτοντος καὶ ἀντικειμένου τῷ θείῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ δυνατῷ ἐκείνῳ θελήματι.' ACO₂ II² 244⁷⁻¹¹.

³ Anastasius of Sinai, for instance, ascribed to the Monothelites the following statement: 'Ἀλλὰ παρετράπη φησὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος. Καὶ πάντα τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πάντως, ἐροῦσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἱ αἵρετικοί, καὶ τούτου χάριν ἀλλότριον καὶ ἀνάξιον ἐστὶ τὸ λέγειν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ ἀνθρώπινον θέλημα ἢ ἀνθρωπίνην ἐνέργειαν.' *Opera* 2 III 4⁸²⁻⁸⁵.

⁴ ACO₂ II¹ 216¹⁸⁻¹⁹.

⁵ *Opera* 2 *scholia longiora*, sch. 16 p. 52.

⁶ See Anastasius Sinaita, *Opera* 2 III 2¹⁸.

The Dyothelites agreed with the Monothelites that a corrupted human nature, together with its will and *energeia*, would be contrary to the divine one. In Christ, however, neither his human nature nor its will and *energeia* were corrupted. It was Maximus the Confessor who offered a convincing explanation as to why. For him, no volitional impulse and action of man, providing that it finds itself in accordance with nature (κατὰ φύσιν) and is not impelled by sin, can be opposite to the will of God: 'Whatever is natural and blameless, is not in opposition to each other.'² Only what is against nature (παρὰ φύσιν) actually opposes the will of God. Christ, who as man willed and acted in accordance with nature, could not have any opposition of wills. This argument was reproduced at the Lateran by Maximus of Aquileia, who claimed that neither nature as such, nor will and *energeia* in their natural state, can cause any dissension in Christ, but only sin:

We recognize that confession of his natures or his natural wills and activities is not productive of dissension (διχονοίας), but only sin, of which the Lord was entirely free by his nature (ἥς πάντῃ καθαρὸς φύσει). He redeemed us from it. He was free from the dissension, which is common to us.³

It is not Christ's, but our will, which was corrupted by sin and as a result conflicted with the divine will. In order to be healed, it had to be adopted by Christ. Thus, the Dyothelites placed the issue of human will into the

¹ Opera 2 III 24⁶: 'Οἱ δύο θελήματα λέγοντες ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντως τὸ ἐν ἀγαθὸν λέγουσι, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον πονηρόν, τὸ ἐν θεϊκόν, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον διαβολικόν.'

² 'Εἰ τι φυσικὸν καὶ ἀδιάβλητον, οὐκ ἐναντίον.' *OpuscThPol* 20 PG 91, 236^{a-b}.

³ ACO₂ I 346⁸⁻¹¹; 347⁶⁻¹⁰.

soteriological context and used it as an argument in support of Christ's two wills. They applied to the human will the principle initially offered by Gregory of Nazianzus in his letter to Cledonius and which became a classic of Christian theological tradition: 'the thing which is not assumed is not healed, and that thing is saved, which is united with God.'¹ Thus, if the human will was not assumed through the Incarnation, it fell away from salvation. Consequently the salvation of the whole of human nature cannot be completed and becomes an illusion, as Maximus warned.² Thus the entire mystery of the Incarnation loses its meaning.³ If the Monothelites were right, then

he (= Christ) either condemned his own creation as something that is not good ..., or he begrudged us the healing of our will depriving us of complete salvation and showing himself to be subject to passion, because he either did not want or could not save us completely.⁴

Moreover, according to Maximus, will is a human faculty that must be saved in the first place, because it was through the will that sin penetrated human nature, when Adam first wished to eat, and then ate, the forbidden fruit. Therefore, if Christ did not assume the will of Adam, men remain under the power of sin:

¹ 'Τὸ γὰρ ἀπρόσληπτον, ἀθεράπευτον· ὃ δὲ ἦν ὡται τῷ Θεῷ, τοῦτο καὶ σωζεται.' *epTheol* 101.32²⁻³.

² *Disputatio* 305^a.

³ See *Disputatio* 316^c.

⁴ *Disputatio* 325^b/Dimitrios Bathrellos. *Person, Nature and Will in Ancient Christology with Special Reference to Saint Maximus the Confessor*. London: University of London, 2001, 151.

If Adam ate willingly, then the will is the first thing in us that became subject to passion. And since the will is the first thing in us that became subject to passion, if, according to them (=the Monothelites), the Logos did not assume it along with the nature when he became incarnate, I have not become free from sin. And if I have not become free from sin, I was not saved, since whatever is not assumed is not saved.¹

Similar ideas, maybe not as developed as in Maximus, can of course be found in the acts of the Lateran Council. Pope Martin in his speech particularly dwelt on this question. To him, Christ had to have all the blameless passions in order to eliminate them from our nature:

Such was, according to the teaching of the Fathers, the reason of his incarnation, which was inspired by love to humankind. He allowed these entirely blameless passions (τὰ πάθη τὰ δίχα μώμου παντός) to move in him according to his will (ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατὰ θέλησιν κινηθῆναι παραχωρῆσαι), so as to eliminate them totally and to liberate from them our nature.²

The opposite approaches, which the Monothelites and the Dyothelites had to the problem 'will-sin,' were reflected in their different stands against the question of what kind of will the first Adam had. This question was crucial, because on it the solution of the major problem, what was the will that Christ had, depended, as was remarked at the sixth ecumenical Council: 'If the first Adam had a natural will, so did the second Adam our Lord Jesus Christ, our true God who became like him (= the first Adam), except sin.'³

¹ *Disputatio* 325^a/Bathrellos 152. As V. Lossky has remarked, 'If the will of the Son is identical with that of the Father, human will, which becomes that of the Word, is His Own: and in this His own will, resides the entire mystery of our salvation.' V. Lossky. *Orthodox Theology: An Introduction*. Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1989, 107.

² ACO₂ I 360⁵⁻⁸, 361⁵⁻⁷.

³ ACO₂ II¹ 248⁶⁻⁸.

The Monothelites, in their approach to this question, proceeded from the assumption that the natural will is identical to the 'fleshy wishes' and therefore refused to accept that Adam had his own will before the Fall. As Macarius stated, the only will that Adam had in Eden was the divine one. He, therefore, was 'co-willer' with God (συνεθελητῆς τῷ Θεῷ).¹ After the Fall, however, he obtained his own will, which Macarius characterized as deliberate and self-governed (προαιρετικὸν καὶ αὐτεξούσιον θέλημα).² Also Pope Honorius identified the will of Adam with the sin that was in his nature as a result of his transgression of God's commandment: 'We confess one will of our Lord Jesus Christ, since our nature was plainly assumed by the Godhead, and this being faultless, as it was before the Fall.'³ This point put forward by the Monothelites was analyzed and subsequently refuted at the sixth ecumenical Council. Thus, Dometius, the bishop of Prusiade remarked that if Adam was the co-willer of God, then he was also co-creator.⁴ Moreover, as the representatives of the West added, he would have had the same essence as the Holy Trinity. In support of this point, a passage from Cyril of Alexandria was cited: 'As he (= Christ) is homoousios, so he is co-willer with his Father, because one essence

¹ ACO₂ II¹ 244¹⁵.

² ACO₂ II¹ 244¹⁴.

³ ACO₂ II² 550¹⁶⁻²¹/Hefele, *History* 5, 29.

⁴ 'Ἐὰν συνεθελητῆς ᾦν ὁ Ἀδάμ τῷ Θεῷ, οὐκοῦν καὶ συνδημιουργός.' ACO₂ II¹ 244¹⁷⁻¹⁸.

undoubtedly has one will.¹ Another unacceptable consequence of the identification of Adam's and God's will was that either Adam did not transgress, because it would be impossible for the divine will, or the divine will allowed him to commit sin:

If Adam had divine will before the Fall, then he was homooousios to God and the will of Adam was unchangeable and life-giving. How then did he change (his mind), transgress the commandment, and become subjected to death? Because whoever is a co-willer (συνθελητής), is always homooousios.²

Before the Council 680/681, the question of Adam's will was examined at the Lateran Council, primarily in a soteriological perspective. Christ had to pass through all our weaknesses, including sorrow, confusion, fear *etc.*, in order to deliver us of them, precisely as he allowed death to come over him, in order then to trample on it.³ Because Adam committed sin with all the faculties of his nature, including will, all these faculties had to be assumed by Christ:

He (= Christ) adopted and hypostatically united with himself everything. He healed whatever belongs to our nature: body, soul, mind, *energeia*, and will, through which Adam deliberately transgressed the commandment. (Adam) as a whole had committed sin and had been convicted to death. Therefore, he as a whole had a need to be healed by him who firstly created and then renewed our nature.⁴

¹ "Ὡςπερ ἐστὶν ὁμοούσιος οὕτω καὶ συνθελητὴς τῷ ἰδίῳ γεννήτορι· μιᾶς γὰρ οὐσίας ἐν δήπου τὸ θέλημα." ACO₂ II¹ 246¹⁻².

² ACO₂ II¹ 244²³⁻²⁵.

³ ACO₂ I 360¹¹⁻¹⁹; 361¹⁰⁻¹⁸.

⁴ ACO₂ I 362³⁻⁷.

The same reasoning was also employed in the later Dyothelite texts, as, for instance, in the Pope Agatho's *Report*¹, and the Emperor's *Edict*².

The Dyothelites emphasised not only the salvific aspect of the assumption of the human will by Christ, but also the aspect of its deification (θέωσις). This issue emerged from the discussions of the controversial quote from Gregory of Nazianzus' treatise *About the Son*:

Let them quote in the seventh place that the Son came down from Heaven, not to do His own Will, but the Will of Him that sent Him. Well, if this had not been said by Himself Who came down, we should say that the phrase was modelled as issuing from the Human Nature, not from Him who is conceived of in His character as the Saviour, for His willing cannot be opposed to God, seeing it has altogether become divine; but conceived of simply as in our nature, inasmuch as the human will does not completely follow the Divine, but for the most part struggles against and resists it. For we understand in the same way the words, Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me; Nevertheless let not what I will but Thy Will prevail. For it is not likely that He did not know whether it was possible or not, or that He would oppose will to will. But since, as this is the language of Him Who assumed our Nature (for He it was Who came down), and not of the Nature which He assumed, we must meet the objection in this way, that the passage does not mean that the Son has a special will of His own, besides that of the Father, but that He has not; so that the meaning would be, 'not to do Mine own Will, for there is none of Mine apart from, but that

¹ 'Εὰν πρὸς τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος αὐτοῦ, καθ' ἣν τὸ ταπεινὸν ἡμῶν προσέλαβεν, ἀποδοθῇ, πάντα τὰ τῆς θείας αὐτοῦ μεγαλωσύνης ἡλαττωμένα πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ ἀνήκειν γνωρίζει, ἣν τελείως προσέλαβε χωρὶς τινος ἁμαρτίας, ἵνα ταύτην καὶ τελείως σώσῃ· 'τὸ γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῦ μὴ προσληθὲν οὐδὲ σώζεται,' καθὼς ἡμᾶς ὁ συστατικὸς τῆς ἀληθείας κηρυξ Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζοῦ πρόεδρος ἐφωδίασε. τοιγαροῦν εἰ τὸ παρὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπινον θέλημα καθὼς καὶ ἡ φύσις προσελήφθη καὶ ἐσώθη, καὶ ὅπερ παρὰ τοῦ προσλαβομένου ἐσώθη, οὐκ ἡδύνατο εἶναι αὐτοῦ ἐναντίον· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐναντίον ἑαυτῷ ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν ὅλων ἔκτισεν ἢ διὰ τοῦ μυστηρίου τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως προσέλαβε.' ACO₂ II¹ 74²⁸-76⁵.

² 'Εἰ οὖν τέλειος ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐν τελειότητι μέινας τῇ θεϊκῇ, οὔτε ἄνους οὔτε ἀθέλητος ἦν. οἱ δὲ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τοῦ Κυρίου ψυχῆς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἀναιρεῖν πειρώμενοι θέλημα ἀνόητον μὲν αὐτὴν ὡς ὄντος ἀνόητοι διαγράφουσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπαθὴν δὲ φύσιν τὰ τε πάθη καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἀναφέρουσιν, ἡμᾶς δὲ μὴ τελείως σωθῆναι κατασκευάζουσιν, δι' ὧν, ὡς λέγουσιν, οὐκ ἀνελλιπῶς ὁ λόγος τὴν ἡμετέραν οὐσίαν ἀνείληφεν. εἰ γὰρ ὁλος ὅλη τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει μὴ ἦνται, οὐδὲ ὁλος ὡς ὁλος ὁ ἄνθρωπος σέσεται. 'τὸ γὰρ ἀπρόσληπτον ἀθεράπευτον, ὃ δὲ ἦνται Θεῷ, τοῦτο καὶ σώζεται' κατὰ τὸν τῆς θεολογίας ἐπώνυμον Γρηγόριον.' ACO₂ II² 840²⁰-842⁸.

which is common to, Me and Thee; for as We have one Godhead, so We have one Will.¹

The crucial phrase here is 'for His willing cannot be opposed to God, seeing it has altogether become divine' (τὸ γὰρ ἐκείνου θέλειν οὐδὲ ὑπεναντίον Θεῶ, θεοθὲν ὅλον), which to the Monothelites denoted the single divine will of Christ.² For the Orthodox, however, this was a testimony about two wills: one divine and another human, which was deified (θεοθὲν). If the will, which in the phrase of Gregory was denoted as θεοθὲν, is divine, as the Monothelites thought, than it leads to an absurdity, because the divine cannot be deified more than it is.³ According to Maximus, this would also mean that the human nature of Christ either could not be deified or must undergo unacceptable changes:

Otherwise, if the deification of the human will opposes the belief that there are two wills, as they say, the deification of the nature will oppose the belief that there are two natures.⁴

This point was repeated in the *Horos* of the sixth ecumenical Council, which stated that deification of the human will does not imply that it undergoes any change similar to human nature:

¹ *deFilio* 12¹⁻¹⁸ (or. 30)/modified transl. Browne-Swallow, <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/310231.htm> [05/09/2003].

² See, for instance, *florilegium* of Macarius and Stephan: "Ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ Θεολόγος ἐν τῷ περὶ Υἱοῦ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ φανερώς παριστᾷ ἐν θέλημα ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ φάσκων· "Τὸ γὰρ ἐκείνου θέλειν οὐδὲ ὑπεναντίον Θεῶ θεωθὲν ὅλου".' ACO₂ II¹ 270¹⁴⁻¹⁶.

³ See the speech of Maximus of Aquileia at the Lateran (ACO₂ I 350¹⁷⁻³⁰); Maximus the Confessor, *OpuscThPol* 3, 48^{a-b}; 20, 236^a; 4, 61^{a-c}; 6, 65^a-68^a; 7, 81^{c-d}; 15, 160^d-161^a; 20, 233^b-237^c; *Disputatio* 316^c; Pope Agatho, *Suggestio* (ACO₂ II¹ 84²⁻⁶); *Edict* (ACO₂ II², 844¹⁸⁻²²).

⁴ *Disputatio* 316^d.

For as his most holy and immaculate animated flesh was not destroyed because it was deified but continued in its own state and nature (ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτῆς ὄρω τε καὶ λόγῳ διέμεινεν), so also his human will, although deified, was not suppressed, but was rather preserved.¹

According to Anastasius of Sinai, the Monothelites could accept that both the human will and the human *energeia* of Christ were deified. However, for them deification meant something essentially different from what it did for the Orthodox, namely that the will and *energeia* have undergone radical change that does not allow speaking about distinctive human *energeia* and will anymore:

The human will and *energeia* of Christ became divine (ἐθεώθη); therefore, after the divinization (μετὰ τὴν θεώσιν) it is impossible to speak of two wills or *energeiai*.²

As Anastasius aphoristically remarked, for the Monothelites 'the *theosis* is a decrease of the number of the will.'³ This causes, however, an elimination of human nature.⁴

Moving in accord with one another, the two wills of Christ remained unconfused. The *Horos* of the Council 680/681 applied to the method of their coexistence and unity the formula of Chalcedon and confessed 'two natural

¹ ACO₂ II² 774³⁰⁻³²/NPNF <http://www.ccel.org/fathers/NPNF2-14/6const3/faith.htm> [23/07/2003]. The text of the *Edict* published after the sixth ecumenical Council stated that Christ has turned our empathetic nature to the state of impassibility: "Ἵνα ἐν ἑαυτῷ μεταστοιχειώσῃ τὸ ἐμπαθὲς ἡμῶν εἰς ἀπάθειαν." ACO₂ II² 840¹³.

² *Opera* 2 VI 3¹¹⁻¹⁵.

³ "Ἡ θεώσις τοῦ θελήματος τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἐστὶ μείωσις." *Opera* 2 VI 3²⁰⁻²¹.

⁴ See *Opera* 2 VI 3²¹⁻²².

wills and two natural operations indivisibly, inconvertibly, inseparably, unconfusedly.¹

The Monothelite model of the human nature lacking its own will and because of this being moved by the divine will, was contested by the Orthodox. For instance, Maximus in replying to the remark of Pyrrhus, 'How? Was not the flesh moved by the decision of the Word who is united with it?'² accused him of improperly dividing Christ³. However, the general model of the human nature being moved by the divine will could be acceptable for them. Thus, Maximus in his *Ambigua* used a picture of a body being ruled by the soul, in order to illustrate Christ's humanity being moved by his divinity.⁴ The Orthodox and Maximus in particular understood this model in a different way from the Monothelites. To them, the fact that the humanity of Christ was moved by his divinity does not deprive the former of its own will, but implies that the human will was wholly submitted to the divine one. In particular, Maximus in his disputation with Pyrrhus replied to the above-mentioned remark of the ex-Patriarch that Moses and David were also moved by the divine command. This,

¹ 'Δύο φυσικὰς θελήσεις ἤτοι θελήματα ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ δύο φυσικὰς ἐνεργείας ἀδιασπῶντως ἀτρέπτως ἀμερίστως ἀσυγχύτως.' ACO₂ II² 774²⁰⁻²¹/NPNF
<http://www.ccel.org/fathers/NPNF2-14/6const3/faith.htm> [23/07/2003].

² *Disputatio* 297^a/Farrell, *The Disputation* 16.

³ *Disputatio* 297^a.

⁴ See *Ambig* 1049^d; 1056^a.

however, did not deprive them of their own will and activity. The humanity of Christ also retained its own will, which was in full accord with the divinity:

For Moses and David, and as many as were susceptible to the influence of the divine energies (ὅσοι τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας χωρητικοί), were moved by his command (νεύματι αὐτοῦ ἐκινεῖτο) and laid aside human and fleshy properties. But, following all the holy Fathers in this as in all things, we say: since the God of All has himself become man without change, it follows that the same person not only willed appropriately (καταλλήλως) as God in his godhead, but also willed appropriately as man in his humanity.¹

During his dispute with Maximus, ex-Patriarch Pyrrhus proposed as a dogmatic compromise the conception of ‘composed will.’ When in the course of the argument Pyrrhus accepted that the wills could belong to the natures of Christ and not to his hypostasis, he suggested considering them as a single composite will. His suggestion contained an old neo-Chalcedonian trick – to consider a single will to be composed *from* two natural wills:

Just as we say that it is possible for there to be one synthetic nature from two natures (ἐκ τῶν δύο φύσεων ἓν τι σύνθετον), so it is also possible for there to be one synthetic will from two natural wills (ἐκ τῶν δύο φυσικῶν θελημάτων ἓν τι σύνθετον).²

This was probably just a suggestion which emerged during the dispute, which did not represent the ‘real’ Monothelite doctrine. Nevertheless, even as a suggestion it is quite interesting, because it indicates that the Monothelites were disposed to search for theological compromises with the Dyothelites and what sort of compromise formulas they were prepared to admit. Thus, it is clear that they were ready to appeal to the compromise formulas elaborated during the

¹ *Disputatio 297^{a-b}/Farrell, The Disputation 16.*

² *Disputatio 296^a/Farrell, The Disputation 14.*

Monophysite controversy. There were also some other compromise expressions acceptable to the Monothelites, which were mentioned during the disputation. In contrast to the previous one, they were not just a suggestion of Pyrrhus, but were shared by some Monothelites. In particular, as Maximus informs us, some of the Monothelites were ready to accept the human will of Christ under condition that it was adopted by Christ by 'relative assimilation' (σχετική οικείωσις)¹ or 'assimilation in a mere relation' (οικείωσις ἐν ψιλῇ σχέσει)². This assimilation is similar to when we feel what others do or undergo, but do not do or undergo it ourselves: 'We appropriate in a friendly manner something otherwise foreign to us, neither suffering nor effecting any of these things of ourselves.'³ As J. Farrell remarks concerning this conception, 'The refusal (= of Christ to accept sufferings) truly belongs to a real human will, contrary to that of God, but this will is that which is really in us and not in Christ.'⁴ According to L  thel, 'the final interpretation of Sergius is therefore inverted: for Sergius, this refusal was in Christ, but it was not a true human will. In this new perspective the refusal is a true human will, but is not in Christ.'⁵ The Monothelites, by introducing the notion of relative assimilation, apparently

¹ *Disputatio* 304^b.

² *Disputatio* 305^a.

³ 'Φιλικ  ς τ   ἀλλήλων οικει  μεθα καὶ στέργομεν, μηδ  ν τούτων α  τοὶ ἢ πάσχοντες, ἢ ἐνεργο  ντες' *Disputatio* 304^a/Farrell, *The Disputation* 24.

⁴ J. Farrell, *Free choice* 80.

⁵ L  thel, *L'Agonie* 50; transl. Farrell, *Free choice* 80.

wanted to avoid a contradiction between the two wills. By doing that, however, as Maximus remarked, they unwillingly jeopardized the salvation of human nature and implied two persons in Christ.¹

The suggestion of 'relative assimilation' was linked to another compromise formula, which was probably offered by the Monothelites in their polemics with the Dyothelites. They were apparently ready to admit two natural wills in Christ on condition that these wills were controlled by a single 'gnomic' will (γνωμικὸν θέλημα), which for them would be associated mainly with the hypostasis² and free choice³ of Christ.

This assumption, however, was argued against by Maximus, who in order to refute it developed a detailed theory about 'gnomic will,' which constitutes one of the most disputable in his theology. I am not here going to examine how Maximus' conception of gnomic will was understood or misunderstood by various scholars, because others have done this work.⁴ I will content myself only with what the most recent research has found about this.

¹ *Disputatio* 305^b.

² See Farrell, *Free choice* 119, n. 66: 'The gnomic will thus corresponds rather closely to the hypostatic will of the Monothelites'; also *Free choice* 123.

³ See Farrell, *Free choice* 119.

⁴ See, for instance, Thunberg, *Microcosm*; Louth, *Maximus*; V. Lossky, *Orthodox Theology: An Introduction; The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*. Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1976; Νικόλαος Ματσούκας, *Δογματική και Συμβολική θεολογία Β'*: ἔκθεσις τῆς ὀρθόδοξης πίστεως σὲ ἀντιπαράθεσιν μὲ τὴ δυτικὴ Χριστιανοσύνη. Θεσσαλονίκη: ἔκδ. Π. Πουρναρά, 1992; Farrell, *Free Choice*; Butler, 'Hypostatic Union and Monothelitism,' Bathrellos, *Person, Nature and Will*.

Thus, Maximus refuted in Christ a gnostic will, which would dominate the natural wills, as he clearly stated during his disputation with Pyrrhus:

It is not possible to say that this (= assimilated will) is a gnostic will, for how is it possible for a will to proceed from a will? Thus those who say that there is a γνώμη in Christ, as the inquiry demonstrates, teach him to be merely a man, deliberating in a manner proper to ourselves, having ignorance, doubt, and opposition, since one only deliberates about something which is doubtful, not concerning what is free of doubt. We have by nature an appetite for that which is good in a particular way, this comes about through inquiry and counsel. Because of this, then, the gnostic will is fitly ascribed to us, being the mode of the employment (of the will), and not its principle of nature: otherwise, nature itself would change innumerable times.¹

Here Maximus has indicated several objections against an alleged gnostic will in Christ. First, this will cannot be a source for other, natural wills, because no one will can proceed from another will. Secondly, it is associated mainly with hypostasis, because in men it constitutes 'the mode of the employment of the will.'²

Finally, a gnostic will would turn Christ into a mere man in the Nestorian sense.³ Christ would be vulnerable and able to err, because the gnostic will in men is usually a result of ignorance, doubts, and an opposition of opinions and evaluations.⁴ Indeed, γνώμη for Maximus, as D. Bathrellos

¹ *Disputatio* 308^{c-d}; Farrell, *Free choice* 123.

² As D. Bathrellos remarks, 'For Maximus, it is not natural will that introduces a human person. Natural will, as the term itself implies, is related to nature, whereas the gnostic or proairetic will is related to the human person.' Bathrellos 176.

³ See *Disputatio* 308^d-309^a.

⁴ See B. Φειδᾶς, *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία* A' 745-746; Νικόλαος Ματσούκας, *Δογματική και Συμβολική Θεολογία* B' 341; L. Thunberg, *Microcosm* 215; Farrell, *Free choice* 123; A. Louth, *Maximus* 61-62; *St John Damascene* 168.

articulates, is 'a disposition of the appetite towards what deliberation has shown to be the most appropriate thing to choose.'¹ Evaluation of what is most appropriate, however, is often limited and even distorted by sin² and therefore can be erroneous and misleading. Gnostic will, thus, as a function of selecting or choosing, is imperfect.³ Therefore, it cannot be ascribed to Christ, who unlike mere men had no necessity to choose between good and bad, because his natural will was always directed to good. He did not hesitate or doubt, but always knew, willed, and did what is ultimately good.

It was in the polemical context that Maximus refused in Christ gnostic will. However, he accepted that the notion as such, could be applicable to Christ under certain conditions. At least in his early works he admitted in Christ γνώμη. For instance, he wrote about the human nature of Christ: 'He preserved the γνώμη passionless (ἀπαθῆ) and not opposing (ἀστασίαστον) to the nature.'⁴ However, he used this word as a synonym of 'will.' Thus, whereas in his early works he spoke of γνώμη⁵, in the later ones he preferred θέλησις.⁶ In

¹ Bathrellos 172.

² As С. Л. Епифанович remarks, it is sinful and egoistic ('греховная и эгоистическая'; *Вопросоответы* 105).

³ See Г. В. Флоровский. *Византийские отцы V-VIII веков*. Париж, 1933, 215.

⁴ *OratDomin* 877^d; see also *adThalas* 313^c.

⁵ *ep* 2 396^d, 400^c.

⁶ *OpuscThPol* 4, 60^a.

addition, as С. Л. Епифанович remarked, by using the word γνώμη he intended to underline the free character of all blameless passions in Christ.¹

5.2. RELATIONS BETWEEN MAIN CATEGORIES

5.2.1. *ENERGEIA* – ONE-WHO-ACTS

The approaches of the Monenergists and their Orthodox opponents to the relation between the *energeiai* and their subject (*One-Who-Acts*) had some common points and simultaneously retained their differences. In particular, as has already been shown, a starting point of the Monenergist-Monothelite doctrine was the oneness of Christ. The Orthodox undoubtedly accepted this too. In addition, both parties agreed that the oneness of Christ is connected to his hypostasis. A characteristic illustration of their like-mindedness on this point is the confession made by Patriarch Pyrrhus. When the Patriarch was asked by Maximus: 'This single Christ... Is he single according to the hypostasis or according to the nature?' he replied: 'According to the hypostasis.'² Oneness of Christ for both parties meant that there is only one subject of all actions – the single Christ. Thus, on the one hand, as early as the eve of the controversy Patriarch Sergius in his letter to Patriarch Cyrus professed 'the same one Christ,

¹ *Вопросоответы* 108, n. 1.

² *Disputatio* 340^b.

who worked the divine and human things.¹ On the other hand, in approximately the same period Sophronius produced a similar statement:

Emmanuel, who was one ..., acted κατ' ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο; as God, **he the same** (ὁ αὐτὸς) (worked) the divine (things), while as man, **he the same** (worked) the human things; in such a way he wished to show himself to everybody as God and as man ... And it is not (true) that one, on the one hand, worked the miracles and another, on the other hand, worked the human (works) and suffered, as Nestorius wants.²

However, from the commonly recognized fact that there is one who acts (*i.e.* Christ), the two groups drew different conclusions. The Monenergists, in particular, concluded that Christ has only one *energeia*, as for instance Pyrrhus stated: 'If he who acts is single, then the *energeia* is single too, as belonging to the single (= Christ).'³ In another place Pyrrhus defined a link between the oneness and the *energeia* with more precision: the *energeia* is single because the person is one – διὰ τὸ μοναδικὸν τοῦ προσώπου.⁴ These statements can be summarized in two conclusions:

First: there is one who acts (*i.e.* Christ).

¹ 'Τὸν αὐτὸν ἓνα Χριστὸν ἐνεργεῖν τὰ θεοπρεπῆ καὶ ἀνθρώπινα.' ACO₂ I 136³⁶⁻³⁷.

² ACO₂ II¹ 442⁴⁻¹⁰; see also Maximus: 'εἷς ὢν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐνήργει.' *Disputatio* 340^b; *Horos* of the Council of Constantinople: 'Ἐνὸς γὰρ καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὰ τε θαύματα καὶ τὰ πάθη γινώσκομεν.' ACO₂ II² 776⁸⁻⁹.

³ *Disputatio* 340^a; see also the letter of Sergius to Cyrus, in which it is stated that each of the two *energeiai* of Christ comes from one single Word (ἐξ ἑνὸς καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σεσαρκωμένου Θεοῦ Λόγου ἀδιαίρετως προῖέναι) and always refers to him (καὶ εἰς ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀναφέρεσθαι) (ACO₂ II² 542⁶⁻⁷); see also *Ecthesis*: 'Πᾶσαν θεϊαν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην ἐνέργειαν ἐνὶ καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ σεσαρκωμένῳ τῷ Λόγῳ προσνέμομεν.' ACO₂ I 158³⁹⁻¹⁶⁰¹; the letter of Patriarch Paul to Pope Theodore: 'Ἐνὸς δὲ καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένου τὰ τε θαύματα κηρύττομεν καὶ τὰ πάθη γνωρίζομεν.' ACO₂ II² 608¹¹⁻¹².

⁴ *Disputatio* 336^a.

*Second: Christ has only one *energeia*.*

The Monenergists easily passed from the *first* conclusion to the *second* one. There are no indications that they tried to prove the passage. The *third* conclusion, which usually followed, was the assertion of a single will. The first two conclusions were so closely linked that the Monenergists-Monothelites sometimes immediately passed from the *first* to the *third*, omitting the *second* one. For instance, Patriarch Paul in his epistle to Pope Theodore passed from the fact that

we preach the miracles and recognize the sufferings of one and the same God Logos who became flesh and deliberately suffered for our sake through the flesh,¹ –

to the conclusion:

for this reason we imply one will of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ.²

The single *energeia* of Christ for the Monenergists-Monothelites was not related to the *One-Who-Acts* (ὁ Ἐνεργῶν) as closely as the single will was related to the *One-Who-Wills* (ὁ Θέλων). Although oneness of the *energeia* was dependent on oneness of Christ, the *energeia* was not entirely divine, as the will was. It had a certain relation to both human and divine natures. As noted before, the one 'theandric *energeia*' of Christ was, for the Monenergists, a **new** activity. It could not be identified either with the divine or with the human *energeia*, but consisted of divine and human actions confused into a single

¹ ACO₂ II² 608¹¹⁻¹².

² ACO₂ II² 608¹⁴⁻¹⁵.

energeia. The synthesis of the actions of Christ was possible owing to the oneness of the subject. This was the decisive role of the single subject (*One-Who-Acts*) in making the *energeia* single as well.

The Orthodox, however, did not conclude from the fact that there is one who acts that Christ had only one activity. For them one and the same *One-Who-Acts* acts not 'monadically,' but 'doubly,' according to Maximus the Confessor.¹ This point was not as easy for logical perception as that proposed by the Monenergists. In order to explain it, the Orthodox referred firstly to the fact that a subject of activities cannot act on his own. To be revealed as a subject of activities, he needs to have a nature. This idea was articulated by Maximus of Aquileia at the fifth session of the Lateran Council:

Although the will belongs to him who wills (τοῦ θέλοντος) and the *energeia* belongs to him who acts (τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος), they (belong) not to him who simply wills (ἀπλῶς τοῦ θέλοντος), but who wills according to the nature, and not to him who simply acts (ἀπλῶς τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος), but who acts according to the nature.²

To prove this point, he added that *energeia* and will have an appellation (ὀνομασία, *appellatio*), which characterizes them as belonging to a certain nature: human, angelic, or divine:

Every (activity and will) has as its appellation the nature of those who act and will. Thus, we call human the will and *energeia* of man, angelic we call the will and *energeia* of Angel, and divine we call the will and *energeia* of God.

¹ *Disputatio* 340^b.

² ACO₂ I 344³⁹-346¹; ACO₂ I 345³⁸-347².

Therefore, the teachers of the catholic Church ascribe each one, I mean divine and human (*energeia* and will) to the same who is God and man.¹

As with many other arguments expressed throughout the acts of the Lateran Council, this one also occurs in the works of Maximus, who seems to be its real inventor. To Maximus, the alleged single will cannot be given any proper name.² If the single will were called theandric or composite, it would be not identical with the will of the Father and the Holy Spirit. If it were called natural, this would confuse the two natures of Christ. If it were named hypostatic, then the Holy Trinity would be divided into three parts by three different wills. If it were called relative, this would split the person of Christ and would lead to Nestorianism. If the will were disposed against nature (*παρὰ φύσιν*), it would destroy Christ. Finally, if it were left without a proper name, this would be absurd. This argument can be traced back to Aristotle and his *Categories*. The philosopher, in particular, spoke of things called from substances synonymously. These synonymous things have the same name and the same definition:

But synonymous things were precisely those with both the name in common and the same definition. Hence, all the things called from substances and *differentiae* are so called synonymously.³

¹ ACO₂ I 346³⁻⁷; ACO₂ I 347²⁻⁶.

² See, for instance, *OpuscThPol* 1, 25^{d-29c}; 3, 53^{c-56a}; 8, 100^{a-b}.

³ *Cat* 3b⁷⁻⁹/J. L. Ackrill. *Categories, and De Interpretatione, Clarendon Aristotle Series*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971, 3.

Some things are called by *paronymy* and take their names from other things to which they are related:

When things get their name from something, with a difference of ending, they are called *paronymous*. Thus, for example, the grammarian gets his name from grammar, the brave get theirs from bravery.¹

In order to prove that a single subject does not necessarily comprise only one activity, the Orthodox tried to clarify how the *energeiai* relate to their subject, *i.e.* hypostasis of Christ. For this purpose, they elaborated some formulas, the most famous of which was an application of the following definition of Chalcedon:

The difference of the natures is not destroyed because of the union, but on the contrary, the character of each nature is preserved (σωζομένης δὲ μάλλον τῆς ιδιότητος ἐκατέρας φύσεως) and comes together in one person and one hypostasis (εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν συντρεχούσης).²

What is said here concerning the natural properties, the Dyenergists-Dyothelites applied to the *energeiai* and wills of Christ, which they placed among the natural properties. Thus, to the Orthodox the *energeiai* and the wills ‘concur’ and meet each other in the hypostasis, as was stated in the *Horos* of the Council of Constantinople:

We confess two wills and two operations, concurring most fitly for the salvation of the human race.³

¹ Cat 1a¹²⁻¹⁵/Ackrill, *Categories* 3. Similar definitions can be found in Porphyry: *inCat* 4,1.68⁵⁻²⁷ (concerning synonymous things); *inCat* 4,1.69¹⁴⁻⁷⁰²⁴ (concerning paronymous things).

² *Horos*, ACO₁ I² 129³¹⁻³³/ Richard Norris. *The Christological controversy, Sources of early Christian thought*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980, 159.

³ ACO₂ II² 776¹⁷⁻¹⁸/NPNF <http://www.ccel.org/fathers/NPNF2-14/6const3/faith.htm> [23/07/2003].

Sophronius clarified the role of the hypostasis in processes of acting and willing in more detail. He determined the hypostasis of Christ as the 'seat' (ἔδρα) of the natures¹ and therefore of the *energeiai* and wills. In the link *hypostasis-energeiai*, the hypostasis played not only the static role of a place or a seat, where the activities 'meet each other,' but also a dynamic role of distributing, controlling, and ruling. Such a role was implied again by Sophronius, who characterized the hypostasis, in his relation with the *energeiai*, as 'ταμίας' and 'πρύτανις':

He (= Christ) was a ταμίας of his human sufferings and deeds, and not only a ταμίας, but also a πρύτανις.²

It is worth analysing the two words more precisely, because they are shed a good deal of light on the role of the hypostasis in the process of acting. The noun 'ταμίας' originates from the verb τέμνω – 'to cut, hew, divide, bisect' etc. In the classical tradition, it was primarily associated with the occupation of a priest³, a treasurer of sanctuaries⁴, or a secular treasurer⁵. It also signified those

¹ ACO₂ II¹ 442⁵.

² ACO₂ II¹ 452³⁻⁵.

³ Pindarus wrote about a *tamias* of Zeus (ταμίας Διός) (*Olympia* 6⁵); Plato mentioned a *tamias* of a goddess – 'ταμίας τῆς θεοῦ.' *Leges* 774b².

⁴ Euripides referred to a *tamias* who was a gold-keeper in the temple in Delphi: 'Δελφοὶ σφ' ἔθεντο χρυσοφύλακα τοῦ θεοῦ ταμίαν τε πάντων πιστόν.' *Ion* 46⁵⁴⁻⁵⁵; Aristotle wrote about a *tamias* of sacred money (ταμίας τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων) (*ΑθηνΠολιτ* 30.2⁶); see also *ΑθηνΠολιτ* 4.2³; *ΑθηνΠολιτ* 7.3⁵; 8.1⁷-8.2¹; *ΑθηνΠολιτ* 49.4⁵; *ΑθηνΠολιτ* 60.3¹; *ΑθηνΠολιτ* 60.3⁴; *ΑθηνΠολιτ* 61.7¹. In the same treatise Aristotle explained who were *tamiai* and how *tamiai* of goddess Athena in Athens were elected (*ΑθηνΠολιτ* 47.1¹-47.1⁷).

⁵ Also called 'hellenotamias' that means someone responsible for public money. Aelius Herodianus explained: 'Ἑλληνοταμίας, ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ταμίας.' *Partitiones* 30¹³⁻¹⁴. This word

who supply somebody with goods¹ or have something stored². Since the fifth century B.C., the word had been attributed to gods and emphasized firstly their function as distributors of different goods, but also their power, might, and superiority.³ Among the Christian authors, Clement of Alexandria characterized God as a *tamias* – holder and provider – of eternal life.⁴ For Eusebius God was a *tamias* and a ‘giver’ (χορηγός) of life, light, truth, and all goods⁵, and Christ – a

occurred as early as in Thucydides: ‘Καὶ Ἑλληνοταμίαι τότε πρῶτον Ἀθηναίοις κατέστη ἀρχή, οἱ ἐδέχοντο τὸν φόρον: οὕτω γὰρ ὠνομάσθη τῶν χρημάτων ἡ φορά.’ *Historiae* 1.96.2¹⁻³; see also Antiphon, *deCaede* 69⁹; Andocides, *dePace* 38²; Aristotle, *ΑθηνΠολιτ* 30.2⁷; *ΑθηνΠολιτ* 30.2¹²; Plutarchus, *VitOrat* 841.B³.

¹ Thus, Aristippus, in *Lives of philosophers* of Diogenes Laertius, mentioned that the first Athenians were *tamiai* of Socrates and provided him with essentials of life (*VitPhilosoph* 2.74⁷⁻⁹). Also Athenaeus wrote about certain Oulpianus who provided dinners: ‘τῶν δείπνων ταμίας Οὐλπιανός.’ *Deipnosophistae* 2.51¹⁻².

² Pindarus, for example, used the word to denote a person who had a store of crowns: ‘ταμίας στεφάνων.’ *Nemea* 6²⁶.

³ The word was linked particularly to Zeus. Thus, for Euripides Zeus is *tamias* i.e. distributor of many things, also a ruler, judge, and controller at Olympus: ‘πολλῶν ταμίας Ζεὺς ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ.’ *Medea* 1415. The functions of Zeus as distributor and provider of different things, both good and bad, were emphasized in Plato’s *Respublica*: ‘Ταμίας ἡμῖν Ζεὺς ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τέτυκται.’ 379.e¹⁻². Isocrates wrote about Zeus: ‘Τῶν γὰρ ὀμβρῶν καὶ τῶν αὐχμῶν τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ὁ Ζεὺς ταμίας ἐστίν, ἐκείνων δ’ ἕκαστος ἀμφοτέρων τούτων αὐτὸς αὐτῷ κύριος καθέστηκεν.’ *Busiris* 13⁷⁻⁹. Here he used the word *tamias* as synonymous to κύριος – master. Aelius Aristides in his treatise *Eis Dία* put on the same level such characteristics of Zeus as *tamias*, ‘father,’ ‘benefactor,’ ‘overseer,’ ‘defender,’ ‘ruler’ (πρύτανις), and ‘lord.’ *EisDία* 8¹⁰⁻¹⁴.

⁴ ‘Τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ πρῶτον καὶ μόνον ζωῆς αἰωνίου ταμίαν, ἣν ὁ Υἱὸς δίδωσιν ἡμῖν παρ’ ἐκείνου λαβών.’ *QuisDives* 6.4³⁻⁵. What is remarkable here is that the Son is a mediator – he gives us what he takes from the Father; therefore, he is not a *tamias*.

⁵ ‘Καὶ ζωῆς αὐτὸς καὶ φωτὸς καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ταμίας τε καὶ χορηγὸς τοῖς πᾶσι καθέστηκεν.’ *PraepEvang* 1.1.4²⁻³; see also: ‘Ὁ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ταμίας Θεός, ζωῆς ὧν πάροχος καὶ αὐτῆς ἀρετῆς πηγή τῶν τε περὶ σῶμα καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀπάντων χορηγὸς ὑπάρχων.’ *PraepEvang* 11.4.3²-11.4.4¹; also *PraepEvang* 3.6.6¹⁻³.

tamias of his own prototypes, which were attested in the Old Testament¹. For Gregory of Nyssa God was a *tamias* of our lives², and Christ, a *tamias* of wisdom and knowledge³. Gregory of Nazianzus named God *tamias* of unexpected things.⁴ He implied that God often does things that nobody could expect. *Tamias* in this case means somebody who has a power to do something he wants or decides to do. Christ for Gregory was a *tamias* of the Holy Spirit.⁵ He possesses and supplies us with what we need.⁶ In addition, Christ for Gregory was a *tamias* in the sense that he has power over everything which is related to him. Generally, the word to Gregory meant anybody and anything that contains or possesses. In particular, hell is a *tamias* of what is belonging to it⁷, and hunters have a power over their prey and can distribute it, as they want⁸. Basil the Great also spoke of God as a giver and a *tamias*.⁹ In conclusion, by the time of Sophronius the word *tamias* had a quite wide range of meanings. It signified,

¹ 'Τὸν Σωτῆρα καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ταμίαν τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπινοιῶν.' *Gener* 23²⁻³.

² 'Ὁ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ταμίας Θεός.' *inCant* 6.13¹⁸⁻¹⁹.

³ 'Ὁ τῶν τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς γνώσεως θυσσαυρῶν ταμίας Χριστός.' *deOccursu* 46.1177⁵²⁻⁵³.

⁴ 'Πολλῶν ταμίας ἐστὶν ἀέλπτων Θεός.' *ChristusPatens* 1130.

⁵ 'Καὶ Πνεύματος ταμίας.' *CarmDogm* 512².

⁶ 'Ὅπως ἂν, οἶμαι, τῷ τεχνίτῃ Λόγῳ δοκῇ, καὶ ταμία τῶν ἡμετέρων.' *contralulian* 2, 35.672¹⁹⁻²⁰.

⁷ 'Ταμίας ἄδης νερτέρων.' *ChristusPatens* 1926.

⁸ 'Αὐτοὶ τοῦ θηράματος ἦσαν ταμίαι.' *inBasil* 8.1¹⁻².

⁹ 'Χορηγὸν καὶ ταμίαν Θεόν.' *TempFamis* 31.309¹⁷⁻¹⁸.

first, somebody (rarely something) that distributes, provides, and supplies; then that contains, keeps stored, preserves, guards; and finally regulates, controls, and rules.

The meaning of the word *prytanis* was not as varied as that of *tamias*. Primarily, it meant a public figure that performed different administrative functions. In particular, in Athens, where the term appeared first, it signified a representative of a tribe in the council (ἐκκλησία), whereas in other states it referred to a chief magistrate. Later it was attributed to a president of the council.¹ However, before the term obtained the meaning of a public service, it was applied to gods. It was attributed mostly to Zeus, who was a *prytanis* of lightning², of the blessed³, the common king, master, father, and *prytanis* of gods and humans⁴, of everybody and everything without exclusion⁵. Thus, by this

¹ Hesychius Lexicographus offered in his *Lexicon* the following synonyms to the word: βασιλεύς, ἄρχων, χορηγός, ταμίας, διοικητής (pi4130). See also Thucydides: 'Ἐκκλησίαν δὲ ποιήσαντας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς πρυτάνεις πρῶτον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ... βουλευσάσθαι Ἀθηναίους καθ' ὅτι ἂν ἐσίῃ ἡ πρεσβεία περὶ τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου.' *Historiae* 4.118.14¹⁻⁴; see also *Historiae* 5.47.9¹⁻³; *Historiae* 6.14.1¹⁻²; *Historiae* 8.70.1³⁻⁷; Isocrates, *dePac* 15⁴⁻⁵; *Trapez* 34⁹; Aristophanes, *Ach* 173; Andocides, *Myst* 12²; Xenophon, *Hell* 1.7.15¹⁻³; Plato, *Apol* 32.b⁵⁻⁷; *Prot* 319.c⁵⁻⁷; *Prot* 338.a⁷⁻⁸; *Gorg* 516.e¹; *Leges* 755.e⁴⁻⁵; *Leges* 760.b¹; *Leges* 766.b²; *Leges* 953.c¹; Lysias, *Or* 6 29³; Demosthenes, *Cor* 37⁷; Aeschines, *FalsLeg* 53⁴; Aristotle: 'Καλοῦσι δ' οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντας τούτους οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις (*Pol* 1322b²⁸⁻²⁹). Here *prytanis* is synonymous to 'ruler,' 'king.' See also *ΑθηνΠολιτ* 4.2⁹; *ΑθηνΠολιτ* 29.4²; *ΑθηνΠολιτ* 41.3³; *ΑθηνΠολιτ* 43.6⁸; *ΑθηνΠολιτ* 44.1¹; *ΑθηνΠολιτ* 44.2¹; *ΑθηνΠολιτ* 44.2²; *ΑθηνΠολιτ* 45.4³.

² Pindarus: 'κεραυνῶν τε πρύτανιν.' *P* 6²³⁻²⁶.

³ Aeschylus: 'μακάρων πρύτανις.' *Pr* 169.

⁴ Dio Chrysostom: 'Οὗτος γὰρ δὴ κοινὸς ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν βασιλεύς τε καὶ ἄρχων καὶ πρύτανις καὶ πατήρ.' *Orationes* 12.22¹⁻².

⁵ Aelius Aristides characterized Zeus: 'Ζεὺς πάντων πατήρ καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ποταμῶν καὶ φυτῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτον ὀρώμεν καὶ ἔχομεν ὅποσα ἔχομεν.

word the ancients wanted to emphasise supremacy, domination. The word also meant that somebody or something had certain properties to a larger extent than others. For example, for Athenaeus an ode is a *prytanis* of hymns.¹ Among the Christian authors, Clement of Alexandria in his *Hymn to Christ* characterized Christ as a *prytanis* of wisdom², of the boundless life³. In the treatise *Exposition of the right faith* ascribed to Justin the Martyr, the Logos is praised as a *prytanis*.⁴ Synesius in his hymns named God a *prytanis* of stars⁵ and of 'nous'⁶. For Gregory of Nyssa God the Father is a *prytanis* of truth.⁷ Eusebius wrote that Christ is a *prytanis* of peace⁸ and God is a *prytanis* of all the world⁹ and good¹⁰. For Gregory of Nazianzus 'nous' is a *prytanis* of soul.¹ Athanasius

οὗτος ἀπάν των εὐεργέτης καὶ ἔφορος καὶ προστάτης, οὗτος πρύτανις καὶ ἡγεμὼν καὶ ταμίας ὄντων καὶ γιγνομένων ἀπάντων, οὗτος δοτὴρ ἀπάντων.' *EisDía* 8¹⁰⁻¹⁵.

¹ 'Τὰς ᾠδὰς γλυκυτάτων πρύτανιν ὕμνων.' *Deipnosophistae* 14.33⁹.

² 'Σοφίας πρύτανις.' *HymnChristi* 14.

³ 'Ἀπείρου πρύτανιν ζωῆς.' *QuisDives* 25.8¹.

⁴ 'Μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν χορηγήσαντα τὴν νίκην ἀνυμνήσωμεν, τὸν θειότατον λόγον, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, τὸ φωτίζον πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, τὸν δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, τὸν ἐν ᾧ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν, τὸν δι' οὗ τὰς τοιαύτας τῶν λόγων στροφὰς διαλύομεν, τὸν κηδεμόνα, τὸν πρύτανιν, τὸν εὐεργέτην.' *Expositio* 390^a-390^b.

⁵ 'Ἄστρον πρύτανις.' *Hymni* 1³⁴.

⁶ 'Νόου πρύτανις.' *Hymni* 2¹⁸¹.

⁷ 'Ὁ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων Θεός, ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας πρύτανις, καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος Πατὴρ.' *adEvagr* 1108¹⁰⁻¹¹.

⁸ 'Εἰρήνης πρύτανις.' *inIsaiam* 2.48¹⁰⁴.

⁹ See *VitConst* 1.24.1².

¹⁰ 'Θεὸς ὁ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ πρύτανις.' *VitConst* 4.52.4¹⁻².

spoke about philosophers who could not provide people with peace of mind and harmony of opinions – they were incapable of becoming *prytaneis* of like-mindedness.² In this case the word obtained a nuance of ‘providing’ or ‘supplying.’ Also, God for him is a *prytanis*.³ Consequently, the word *prytanis* meant somebody or something superior, dominant, and even almighty. The closest Greek word was κύριος, which also meant somebody or something that rules and controls. *Prytanis* had also a meaning of the capacity to provide and to keep things together.

From the analysis of the two words, it is possible now to conclude what Sophronius meant when he characterized hypostasis as *tamias* and *prytanis* of the *energeiai*. Thus, the hypostasis for him was an ultimate source of the *energeiai*, from where and by which they are distributed and provided, as well as directed and controlled, evaluated and judged. In addition, the hypostasis was a master, superior, head, and simultaneously a guard. To some extent, it was also a container and a holder of the *energeiai*.

Fr. D. Bathrellos in his research has suggested that there is a difference between the Leonine tradition and the seventh century’s Dyothelite teaching on

¹ ‘Ψυχῆς δὲ ἐπιδεῖν ἀξίωμα, καὶ πόθεν Ἐλήλυθε, πρὸς ὃν τε καὶ ποῖ τρεπτέα. Ἦτις τε ταύτης ἢ κατ’ εὐλογον φορά; Ἐπεὶ γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς ἐγὼ τεκμαίρομαι, Σοφῶν τε ἀκούω, θεία τις μεταρροή. Ἀνωθεν ἡμῖν ἐρχομένη, εἴτ’ οὖν ὅλη. Εἴθ’ ὁ πρύτανις ταύτης κυβερνήτης τε νοῦς.’ *CarmMoral* 685¹⁻⁷.

² ‘Καὶ ὁμονοίας αὐτοῖς γένοιντο πρυτάνεις.’ *contraGen* 29³¹.

³ See in *Psal* 27.160¹¹.

the issue of whether the hypostasis or the natures of Christ are the subjects of his activities. The scholar asserts that Leo in his famous formula considered the natures of Christ as the two subjects of actions. In particular he says: 'The principal problem with Leo's formula is not that it uses divine-like expressions to refer to the divinity of Christ and human-like ones to refer to his humanity, but that it turns the natures of Christ into subjects of action.'¹ In contrast to Leo, the Dyothelite theologians and Councils of the seventh century did not consider the natures as the only subjects of actions.² 'Sophronius at times regarded Christ as the subject of the human and the divine actions, and at others regarded the natures as the subjects of their proper actions.'³ As for Maximus, Fr. D. Bathrellos concludes that 'even when nature "wills" or "acts," it is the person who is the ultimate bearer and so, indirectly, the subject of willing and acting.'⁴ The scholar is right in his latter suggestion. However, he seems to be oversimplifying in opposing the later Dyothelites to Leo and by ascribing to the latter the belief that the natures of Christ are the only subjects of activities. I must agree with the scholar that the Leo's phrase *'Agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione quod proprium habuit, Verbo quidem operante quod Verbi est, carne autem exequente quod carnis est, et horum coruscat miraculis,*

¹ Bathrellos 205.

² See Bathrellos 207-212.

³ Bathrellos 207-208.

⁴ Bathrellos 217.

aliud vero subcumbit iniuriis,' means that the two natures are the subjects of activities. The phrase, therefore, should be translated: 'And so each nature functions in communion with the other, (performing) whatever belongs to each one.' However, the preceding and the following sentence suggest that Christ to Leo was also a subject of actions:

The same one (= Christ) who is a genuine human being is also genuinely God, and in this unity there is no deception.¹

For there is **one and the same** – as we must say over and over again – who is genuinely Son of God and genuinely Son of man. He is God by reason of the fact that 'in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God' (John 1, 1). He is human by reason of the fact that 'the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us' (John 1, 14).²

Concluding, the whole phrase implies a double activity and a double subject of actions. On the one hand, it is primarily Christ who acts. On the other, however, the divinity operates (*Verbo operante*) and the humanity executes (*carne exequente*) what is belonging to each nature. The phrase also implies a hierarchy of subjects of activities. The person of Christ appears to be a primary subject, whereas the natures are secondary ones. This Leonine tradition was fully adopted by Sophronius, Maximus, and their confederates in the Dyothelite camp.³ Sophronius, for instance, sometimes regarded Christ as a person to be

¹ 'Qui enim verus est Deus, idem verus est homo. et nullum est in hac unitate mendacium.' *adFlav* 28⁹⁻¹⁰/R. Norris, *The Christological Controversy* 149.

² 'Unus enim idemque est, quod saepe dicendum est, vere Dei Filius et vere hominis filius, Deus per id quod in principio erat Verbum et Verbum erat apud Deum et Deus erat Verbum, homo per id quod Verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis.' *adFlav* 28¹⁶⁻¹⁹/R. Norris, *The Christological Controversy* 150.

³ Therefore, Moeller is right in saying that the formula of Leo is absolutely orthodox and 'assures the realism of each nature and their indissoluble union.' 'Le chalcédonisme' 716-717.

the subject of the human and divine actions¹, and sometimes he ascribed such a role to the natures.² As for Maximus, he also spoke of both the single Christ³ and the natures⁴ as the subjects of activities.

5.2.2. WILL – ONE-WHO-WILLS

From the fact that there is a single Christ who wills, the Monothelites concluded that his will is single as well, and belongs to his hypostasis.⁵ This logical deduction reproduced the logic which had earlier led to Monenergism. However, the two deductions were not identical. The relation between the single will and the single subject of willing was not the same as the relation of the single *energeia* and its subject, because the Monenergists-Monothelites attributed the single *energeia* not only to the hypostasis, but also to the natures of Christ, while the single will they ascribed only to the One-Who-Wills. Any

¹ See ACO₂ II¹ 440¹⁷⁻²⁰; 442¹⁻², 4-14; 444⁵⁻⁷, 14-15; 448⁸⁻¹⁰.

² See ACO₂ II¹ 442²⁻⁴, 15-18; 442²²-444²; 444⁴, 10-11, 16-18.

³ See, for instance, *OpuscThPol* 15, 168^a: 'ἐν ἑκατέρῳ δὲ μορφῇ.' According to Ducet, however, initially the phrase here could be used in the nominative and was later turned by the copyists into the ablative (*Dispute de Maxime le Confesseur avec Pyrrhus*, 417).

⁴ In Migne: 'Ἐνεργεῖ γὰρ ἑκατέρῳ μορφῇ μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας.' *Disputatio* 352^b. Ducet, however, in his critical edition remarks that initially Maximus used ἑκατέρῳ μορφῇ in the nominative, which was later turned into the ablative. This can be concluded from the continuation of the phrase: 'Ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν, "Ἐνεργεῖ γὰρ ἑκατέρῳ μορφῇ μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας", τί ἕτερον πεποίηκεν; ἢ ὁ εἰπὼν, "Καὶ γὰρ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἀπόσιτος διαμείνας, ὕστερον ἐπέινασεν". ἔδωκε γὰρ τῇ φύσει, ὅτε ἠθέλησε, τὰ ἴδια ἐνεργῆσαι.' So, Christ allowed his nature to act what was fitting to it. Therefore, a subject of *energeia* here is nature.

⁵ See the J. Farrell's 2nd Monothelite principle that the will is hypostatic, *Free choice* 81.

relation between the single will and the natures was rejected, at least to be as noticeable as the relation between the *energeia* and the natures. In result, two wills would necessarily introduce two persons¹, while they never said that two *energeiai* would also presuppose two acting subjects. Macarius of Antioch was, as in other cases, the most consistent in his understanding of this idea and called the single will of Christ 'hypostatic': 'I confess ... one hypostatic will in our Lord Jesus Christ.'²

As has already been shown, the Monothelites refused the idea of two wills in Christ, because the two wills would necessarily oppose each other. This opposition would be owing to the very essence of the wills. Indeed, for the Monothelites, as we have seen, will belongs to hypostasis. Therefore, it takes the same characteristics as hypostasis. The most important of them is to be 'particular' (τὸ ἴδιον) and not 'universal' or 'common' (τὸ κοινόν). Thus, will is 'particular' and not 'universal.' This means that every given will is unique and there are no two similar wills, just as there are no two similar hypostases. Therefore, two identical wills would be nonsense.

An entirely different approach was taken by the Orthodox, who attributed will as a faculty not to hypostasis, but to nature. Will was in that way

¹ This chain of logic can be found in the reasoning of Patriarch Paul, who wrote in his letter to Pope Theodore: "Ὁ ἐν θέλημα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Δεσπότου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ νοοῦμεν," because otherwise 'δύο τοὺς θέλοντας εἰσαγάγωμεν.' ACO₂ I 200²⁵⁻²⁶.

² "Ὁμολογῶ ... ἐν θέλημα ὑποστατικὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνὸς Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ." ACO₂ II' 216^{12, 24-25}.

regarded not as a 'particular,' but as a 'universal' or 'common.'¹ Thanks to this attribution, two wills could easily coexist in Christ in full agreement, subject only to the condition that the human will is not corrupted by sin. The Monothelites, however, refused this approach and still insisted that the will of Christ was hypostatic.²

The indissoluble link between the hypostasis of Christ and his natures should presuppose that anything related to the hypostasis must have some relation to the natures, and *vice versa*. Consequently, the Monothelites who ascribed one will to the hypostasis of Christ had to acknowledge at least some minimal relation of the will to the natures. However, we cannot find any indication of such acknowledgement in their texts. The surviving sources only establish a connection of the will to the hypostasis and keep silence concerning its relation to the natures.

The Orthodox meanwhile ascribed the wills of Christ not only to his natures, but to his hypostasis too. For Maximus, for instance, not only the natures, but also one and the same Christ was 'volitional' (θελητικός) and 'energetic' (ἐνεργητικός).³ Although there was one and the same Christ who

¹ See Maximus: 'Τὸ μὲν γὰρ θέλειν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ὁρᾶν, φύσεως· καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὁμοφυέσι καὶ ὁμογενέσι προσόν.' *Disputatio* 293^a.

² The Monothelites were aware of the Orthodox conception concerning the wills of Christ. The *Typos*, for instance, referred to those who teach about 'δύο θελήματα καὶ ἐνεργείας δύο ..., διὰ τὰς ἀδιαιρέτως ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐνὶ προσώπῳ συνελθούσας φύσεις καὶ τοῦ τὴν αὐτῶν σώζεσθαι καὶ μένειν διαφορὰν, καταλλήλως καὶ προσφυῶς ταῖς φύσεσι τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἓνα Χριστὸν ἐνεργεῖν τὰ τε θεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα.' ACO₂ I 208⁸⁻¹⁴.

³ *Disputatio* 289^c.

willed, he willed not ‘monadically’ (μοναδικῶς), but ‘doubly’ (δυνικῶς) that is as God and as man.¹ Maximus has developed further the language of ‘monadic’ and ‘double’ willing and generally of the unity and diversity of the natures, activities, and wills in Christ. To show the difference between the notions of hypostasis and nature, he applied to the particular being the term ‘mode of existence’ (τρόπος τῆς ὑπάρξεως) that is the concrete way of realisation of a nature, whereas to the common being – ‘logos,’ i.e. nature’s principal, meaning, or definition.² Maximus could have inherited this distinction from Sophronius³, who, in turn, might have borrowed it from earlier authors, such as Diadochus of Photice.⁴ Maximus applied the definition to both the Holy Trinity and to Christ.⁵ In applying this to Christology, Maximus used the distinction to describe the balance between the unity and diversity of the natures in Christ, together with their activities and wills. Thus, according to Maximus, *energeia* belongs to the *logos* of the nature, but its *tropos* is determined by the person:

The coming together of these (= natures) effects the great mystery of the nature of Jesus who is beyond nature, and shows that in this the difference and the union of the *energeiai* are preserved, the (difference) beheld without division in

¹ *Disputatio* 289^b.

² See A. Louth, *Maximus* 51.

³ As Ch. Schönborn remarks, ‘Saint Sophrone connaît donc, en substance déjà, la distinction entre *logos* et *tropos* que saint Maxime développera fortement.’ *Sophrone* 193.

⁴ See Ch. Schönborn, *Sophrone* 193 n. 97.

⁵ See, for instance, *Ambig* 1.

the natural logos of what has been united, and the (union) acknowledged without confusion in the monadic mode of what has come to pass.¹

The same is also applicable to the wills:

The ability to will (πεφυκέναι θέλειν) and the willing (θέλειν) are not the same, and the ability to speak (πεφυκέναι λαλεῖν) and speaking (λαλεῖν) are not the same either. For the ability to speak (λαλητικόν) exists always in man by nature, but man does not speak always, for the former belongs to essence and is held by the logos of nature, whereas the latter belongs to deliberate desire (βουλή), and is modelled by the gnome of him who speaks; therefore the ever-existing ability to speak belongs to nature, but the mode of speaking (πῶς λαλεῖν) belongs to hypostasis, and the same goes for the ability to will (πεφυκέναι θέλειν) and the willing (θέλειν). And since the ability to will and the willing are not the same (for, as I said, the former belongs to essence, whereas the latter to the deliberate desire of the willer), the enfleshed Logos had as man the ability to will (πεφυκέναι θέλειν), which was moved and modelled by (or according to) his divine will (τῷ αὐτοῦ θεϊκῷ θελήματι κινούμενόν τε καὶ τυπούμενον). For his willing (θέλειν), as the great Gregory says, does in no way oppose God, because it is wholly deified.²

Therefore, as Fr. D. Bathrellos remarks, the human will of Christ, which belongs to the nature, 'was modelled, moved and actualised in particular acts of human willing by the divine person of the Logos in obedience to the Father ...'³ For Maximus, the human will is common to all people and characterises human nature. However, its way of actualisation depends upon and characterises the person. This insight is related to Maximus' Christological vision, which points to the Logos as the personal subject who, in virtue of having a human natural will and *energeia*, was capable of willing and accomplishing our salvation not only as God but also as man.⁴ Therefore, the unity of two *energeiai* and two

¹ *Ambig* 1052^b/A. Louth, *Maximus* 55; see also *OpuscThPol* 10, 136^d-137^a.

² *OpuscThPol* 3, 48^{a-b}.

³ Bathrellos 185.

⁴ Bathrellos 219-220.

wills was in effect an identity of their *tropoi*, whereas the difference between them was preserved in their proper *logoi*. The language of *tropos-logos* not only denotes the unity and diversity of the natures, activities and wills, but also elucidates how they can exist and manifest themselves without intersection and contradiction. This language, however, was not adopted by the wider Dyenergist-Dyothelite tradition, which contented itself with the Chalcedonian language. Thus, according to the definition of the sixth ecumenical Council, the human will of Christ belonged to his hypostasis to the same extent as his human nature did:

For as his flesh is called and is the flesh of God the Word, so also the natural will of his flesh is called and is the proper will of God the Word, as he himself says: 'I came down from heaven, not that I might do mine own will but the will of the Father which sent me!' (John 6, 38) where he calls his own will the will of his flesh, inasmuch as his flesh was also his own.¹

Some other aspects of the relationship between the wills of Christ and his hypostasis were elaborated by the Orthodox in the context of discussions concerning the prayer of Christ in the garden of Gethsemane (Matt 23, 36-46; Mark 14, 32-42). The Monothelites interpreted the agony of Christ as imaginary and not real. For them, it was rather a moral lesson and a pattern to follow, which was given to believers. Christ represented **our** human nature, and not **his own**. In particular, Pope Honorius interpreted the Gethsemane prayer merely as

¹ Horos, ACO₂ II² 774²⁶⁻²⁹/NPNF <http://www.ccel.org/fathers/NPNF2-14/6const3/faith.htm> [23/07/2003].

a moral lesson.¹ Another Monothelite, Patriarch Paul rejected the idea that the human will of Christ could really wish to avoid the cup of sufferings and the words of Christ in Gethsemane must not be understood as a manifestation of a human will.²

For the Orthodox, however, these interpretations were unacceptable. Thus, Maximus of Aquileia claimed at the Lateran that one and the same Christ in a mysterious way combined the willings to suffer and to avoid suffering. His willing to accept sufferings belonged to his divine nature, and his willing to avoid them belonged to his human nature. These willings did not contradict each other, but coexisted in a mysterious way – the same way as God comprises the power of creation and power of dispensation. The willing of Christ to assume human nature is similar to creation, whereas his willing to undergo sufferings in order to redeem fallen nature is similar to dispensation.³ This topic was also touched on by another speaker at the Lateran – bishop Deusdedit. To him, Christ accepted voluntary sufferings, because he willed to save humankind. These sufferings, which as such were undesirable to him, he turned into desirable ones, because he wished to offer us salvation.⁴

¹ ACO₂ II² 552¹⁵⁻¹⁹.

² ACO₂ I 200³⁸-202²¹.

³ ACO₂ I 346³⁷-348⁸.

⁴ ACO₂ I 356.

Maximus the Confessor took a somewhat clearer approach to the issue. He explained during his disputation with Pyrrhus that it is natural for any created being to aspire 'πρὸς τὰ συστατικά' and to avoid 'τὰ φθαρτικά.' In Christ, therefore, his human will in a natural way tried to avoid 'τὰ φθαρτικά.' It was a manifestation not of disobedience to God's will, but of the full accordance of his human will with the laws given by God to nature. The fear (δειλία) that Christ felt was quite different from the sinful fear, which dwells in our fallen nature. It was natural (κατὰ φύσιν), and as a result opposed to everything that threatens nature, whereas sinful fear conflicts with nature (παρὰ φύσιν). The natural fear of Christ was not caused by any natural necessity, but was deliberate, as with any other 'blameless passions':

He verily did hunger and thirst, not in a mode (τρόπῳ) similar to ours, but in a mode which surpasses us (τῷ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς), in other words, voluntarily. Thus, he was truly afraid, not as we are (καθ' ἡμᾶς), but in a mode surpassing us (ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς).¹

In his analysis of the prayer in Gethsemane, Maximus remarked on another feature of it. The prayer was addressed to the Father from the humanity of Christ, and not from the divinity, as the Monothelites asserted. Indeed, if the divine nature and, correspondingly, the divine will were the source of the prayer, then the divine will of Christ would be different from that of the Father.

¹ *Disputatio* 297^d/Farrell, *The Disputation* 18.

In the prayer, Christ showed that his human will was fully obedient to his divine will, in spite of its natural fear and aversion to death.¹

5.2.3. WILL – ‘NOUS’

In classical antiquity, the mental and volitional faculties of a man were considered virtually identical. Or, rather, the volitional activity was dissolved in the reasoning and was regarded as one of the aspects – not a very noticeable one – of the intellectual activity. It was not given much significance among the human virtues and was in no way considered as an independent faculty. According to A. Losev, ‘will in its pure form is not at all an antique notion.’² A. Dihle has thoroughly researched this issue and come to the conclusion that ‘The Greeks had no word ... in their language to denote will or intention as such.’³ The same approach was inherited by the early Christian authors. As the

¹ See *OpuscThPol* 6, 65^a-69^a.

² А. Ф. Лосев, *История античной эстетики (ранняя классика)*. Москва: Высшая школа, 1969, I¹ 87. Recent research has indicated some embryonic conception of the will in Aristotle, though still not a distinctive one; see Anthony Kenny. *Aristotle's theory of the will*. London: Duckworth, 1979.

³ *The Theory of Will* 20. The scholar continues: ‘During the period when the two verbs βούλομαι and (ἐ)θέλω were still different in meaning, the first signified primarily the planning and reflecting which precedes action. The second only meant “to be disposed, to be prepared” ... On the other hand, many words for cognition or thought inevitably imply the semantic element of decision or intention which results from intellectual activity. This applies to γινώσκω, διανοέομαι, νοέω, and other words ... Προαίρεομαι, which comes very close to our concept of will, clearly refers to the choice which the intellect makes out of several possible objectives of action. Προαίρεσις – literally “prediction” or “preference” – denotes the act of intellectual perception rather than intention itself, the general direction which action takes, or the strength of the impulse towards action.’ *The Theory of Will* 20-21. See also Gerhard Jaeger. ‘Nus’ in *Platons Dialogen. (Dissertation.)*, [Hypomnemata. Hft. 17.]: Göttingen, 1967.

same scholar remarks, 'Most of the arguments by which man's free decision was corroborated were taken (= by early Christian authors) from philosophical doctrines. So, for example, both Justin and Irenaeus derive the faculty of free choice from man's endowment with reason, that is to say from his intellectual forces ... Clement of Alexandria, too, follows the philosophical tradition in attributing free decision on which moral responsibility rests to man's intellectual perception and judgement (προαίρεσις) which leads to the view that human action is the consequence of cognition.'¹

The situation has dramatically changed, however, since the fourth century. The faculty of will, which was then examined mainly in the context of research on the notion of the divine will, started to be considered as more or less independent from reasoning.² The first theologian who broke through the ancient tradition of identification of the volitional and intellectual faculties was Athanasius, who was impelled to do so by the Arian controversy.³ Indeed, Arius confused the Father's activity of creating and giving a birth to the Son. This confusion led him to the wrong conclusion that the Son is created, like the rest of the world. Athanasius, in order to refute Arius, introduced a distinction

¹ *The Theory of Will* 107-108. As for Origen, Dihle remarks: 'According to him (= Origen), the will of man proceeds from his reason without becoming separated from it.' *The Theory of Will* 111. This statement can be illustrated by the following passage from Irenaeus: 'Θέλησις ἐστὶ τῆς νοεράς ψυχῆς ὁ ἐφ' ἡμῖν λόγος, ὡς αὐτεξούσιος αὐτῆς ὑπάρχουσα δύναμις. Θέλησις ἐστὶ νοῦς ὀρεκτικός, καὶ διανοητικὴ ὄρεξις, πρὸς τὸ θεληθὲν ἐπινεύουσα.' *Fragm* 5¹⁻⁶.

² See Dihle, *The Theory of Will* 113.

³ See Dihle, *The Theory of Will* 116.

between the two activities. Athanasius defined volition as a major factor that denoted the difference between them. Therefore, it is the will that is involved in the process of creation, whereas giving birth is realised without will.¹

Thus, in the context of the Arian controversy, the will of God was comprehended and identified as a distinctive power. The human will, however, was still considered as an aspect of the intellect. Gregory of Nyssa followed an idiosyncratic line in examining the human will. On the one hand, he faithfully followed the ancient tradition of intellectualism. For instance, he claimed that 'thoughts are the fathers of the will'.² On the other hand, he laid a certain emphasis on the human will as an independent faculty. In particular, the voluntarism of Gregory emerged from the conception that the perfection and full cognition of truth, which man seeks for, remains unattainable. In spite of this, man is still moved by the unquenchable desire to reach the truth. This desire thus emerges as a self-standing volitional power.³ In the East, the human will developed into a fully-fledged faculty owing to the Christological

¹ See, for instance, *contArian* 26.72: 'Τὸ ποίημα ἔξωθεν τοῦ ποιούντός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς ἴδιον τῆς οὐσίας γέννημά ἐστι· διὸ καὶ τὸ μὲν ποίημα οὐκ ἀνάγκη αἰεὶ εἶναι· ὅτε γὰρ βούλεται ὁ δημιουργὸς, ἐργάζεται· τὸ δὲ γέννημα οὐ βουλήσει ὑπόκειται, ἀλλὰ τῆς οὐσίας ἐστὶν ιδιότης.'

² See *VitMos* 2³⁴.

³ See Dihle, *The Theory of Will* 120-122 and in particular: 'If man was told to proceed, in the moral and religious conduct of his life, towards the cognition of something which was imperceptible by its very nature, the admonition had to be made explicit with the aid of an anthropological notion of will.'

controversy.¹ I will not analyse this development here, but limit myself to the statement that by the beginning of the Monothelite controversy, the human will of Christ was considered as a relatively independent and self-sufficient faculty, though it had not lost its ties with intellect. Indeed, the very fact of the emergence of such a heresy as Monothelitism was possible because the two faculties (volitional and intellectual) were regarded as quite distinctive. Otherwise, the Monothelites would never dare to confess one will without fear of being convicted of Apollinarianism.

Although the Monothelites considered the will and the intellect to be separate notions, they did not omit to emphasise the link between them and used this link for polemical purposes against the Dyothelites. Thus, two wills, according to their logic, would necessarily lead to disorder in Christ's mind (διχόνοια-dissensio).² The Orthodox polemicists also used the link between the will and the intellect as a weapon against the Monothelites, as, for instance, Maximus did in the following passage:

They say that natural will (φυσικὸν θέλημα) or volition (θέλησις) is a faculty desirous of what is in accordance with nature, a faculty that holds together in being the attributes that belong essentially to a being's nature. The essence, being naturally held together by this, desires to be and live and move in accordance with perception (αἴσθησις) and mind (νοῦς).³

¹ In the West the situation was somewhat different. Here the conception of human will emerged from the Pelagian controversy and was developed mainly by Augustine; see Dihle, *The Theory of Will*, ch. 6: St. Augustine and his concept of will.

² See ACO₂ I 34⁶⁸⁻¹¹; 347⁶⁻¹⁰.

³ *OpuscThPol* 1, 12^c-13^a.

Maximus insisted that beings that have no rational will are deprived of reason and intellect (ἄλογον and ἀνόητον).¹ The same ideas were repeated in the Councils' documents in support of Dyothelitism. In particular, the *Edict* linked the intellect and the will, so that we cannot speak of the intellect without speaking of the will and *vice versa*:

Intellect is an indication of the human perfection. Owing to it, we will, think, and differ from the mindless animals. Nothing which lacks a mind has a will (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄνουν θελητικόν), while everything which has a will is intellectual (πάν δὲ θελητικόν νοερόν). For where is an intellect, there always is a will.²

That is why Monothelitism was considered a sort of Apollinarianism:

Those who try to abolish the natural will of the human soul of the Lord regard it (= the soul) as mindless, being in fact mindless themselves.³

5.2.4. *ENERGEIA* – NATURE

As mentioned above, the Monenergists made some distinction between the divine and the human activities of Christ. It would be an exaggeration to say that they did not attribute them to the natures, though to a significantly lesser degree than to the hypostasis. For instance, Patriarch Sergius wrote in his letter to Honorius that the activities of Christ are united 'ἀμερίστως καὶ ἀδιαιρέτως',⁴ precisely as the natures are. However, the Monenergists did not ascribe the

¹ *OpuscThPol* 8, 97^b.

² *Edict*, ACO₂ II² 840¹⁸⁻²⁰.

³ *Edict*, ACO₂ II² 842¹⁻³.

⁴ ACO₂ II² 546¹⁴⁻¹⁵.

energeiai to the natures to the same extent as the Orthodox. This expression of Patriarch Pyrrhus on the point is quite characteristic:

When we assert a single *energeia* of both the Godhead and manhood of Christ, we do not ascribe it to him by reason of nature (λόγῳ φύσεως) but in the mode of union (ἐνώσεως τρόπῳ).¹

It is evident from the passage that the activities of Christ for Pyrrhus belonged to both divine and human natures. At the same time, they constituted one *energeia*, because of the union of the natures. In another passage, Pyrrhus specified that the *energeia* of Christ is one because the *prosopon* is one (διὰ τὸ μοναδικὸν τοῦ προσώπου).² The Orthodox polemicists in their consideration of the *energeiai* of Christ, as was shown above, proceeded from the same premises as the Monenergists. Thus, they accepted that it was one and the same Christ who acted and that he acted humanly and divinely. However, these premises did not lead them to the conclusion that the *energeia* of Christ is one. Maximus, for example, claimed that one and the same Christ acted not 'monadically,' but 'dually'³, because of the double character of his nature (διὰ τὸ διπλοῦν τῆς φύσεως). Thus, the Orthodox ascribed human and divine *energeiai* of Christ to his human and divine natures respectively. As early as the moment when Sophronius wrote his synodic epistle, it was remarked that the difference of the

¹ *Disputatio* 340^d.

² *Disputatio* 336^a.

³ *Disputatio* 340^b.

activities of Christ is possible because of the difference of his natures: 'For this causes the difference of the *energeiai* in Christ, as well as ... of the natures.'¹

Sophronius could have learned the direct dependence of *energeia* on its nature from Stephan of Alexandria², who touched on this issue in his commentaries on Aristotle and virtually reproduced the Aristotelian approach to the relation between *energeia* and nature. He stated that whatever has the same activities has also the same essence.³ Sophronius developed the idea further, asserting that *energeia* cannot exist on its own and is indissolubly related to its nature. Because of this, the Patriarch called it 'essential' (οὐσιώδης), 'natural' (φυσική), and 'correspondent' (κατάλληλος).⁴ The following statement of Maximus is quite characteristic as well: 'For the *energeia*, provided it is natural, is a constitutive (συστατικός) and innate (ἐμφυτος) character of the nature.'⁵

¹ 'Τούτο γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ ποιεῖ τὸ διάφορον, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ ... τῶν φύσεων.' ACO₂ II¹ 446³⁴.

² See John Moschus, *PratSpirit* 2929^d.

³ 'Ὅν δὲ αἱ ἐνέργειαι αἱ αὐταί, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ αἱ οὐσίαι αἱ αὐταί.' in *Aristot* 35.

⁴ 'Ἐνέργειαν, τὴν οὐσιώδη λέγω καὶ φυσικὴν καὶ κατάλληλον, ἀδιαίρετως ἐξ ἐκάστης προϋούσαν οὐσίας καὶ φύσεως κατὰ τὴν ἐμπεφυκυῖαν αὐτῇ φυσικὴν καὶ οὐσιώδη ποιότητα.' ACO₂ II¹ 444²¹-446². See also a *scholion* to *contEunom* attributed to Basil of Ceasarea, PG 87, 4012AB.

⁵ 'Ἡ γὰρ ἐνέργεια, φυσικὴ οὐσα, φύσεως ὑπάρχει συστατικός καὶ ἐμφυτος χαρακτήρ.' *Disputatio* 348^a.

The link between *energeia* and its nature was so close for the Orthodox that one *energeia* would necessarily mean for them one nature. Thus, Sophronius remarked characteristically:

Christ worked naturally what (belongs) to each nature according to the essential quality (οὐσιώδη ποιότητα) or natural property (φυσικὴν ιδιότητα) attached (προσοῦσαν) to each (nature).¹

This argument was reproduced and developed further by other polemicists. For Pope Martin, for example, the reality of nature depended on whether it possesses its own natural *energeiai* and wills. Consequently, if the natural properties, among which the Pope lists the will and *energeia*, are abolished, then

the nature is necessarily abolished together with them (συναναφεῖται πάντως), because it cannot be perceived (γνωριζομένη) anymore through the natural property, which essentially characterizes it (οὐσιωδῶς χαρακτηρίζουσας αὐτήν).²

Thus, if nature has not its own *energeia* and will, it cannot stand in existence:

Whatever exists without participating in any will or *energeia* (πάσης ἁμοιον ὑπάρχον θελήσεως καὶ ἐνεργείας) also lacks essential existence (οὐσιώδους ὑπάρξεως).³

The same idea occurs in Maximus the Confessor. To him, a nature without its own *energeiai* cannot be considered as a nature: 'A nature can neither

¹ ACO₂ II¹ 440¹⁸⁻²⁰.

² ACO₂ I 406¹³⁻¹⁵; 407¹²⁻¹⁴.

³ ACO₂ I 406⁷⁻⁸; 407⁶⁻⁷.

be conceived nor can it exist without the energies proper to it.’¹ The fathers of the sixth ecumenical Council have placed this idea in a soteriological perspective. The lack of human *energeia* in Christ would mean for them incompleteness of the human nature and therefore incompleteness of salvation for the human race: ‘For can we call him perfect in humanity if he does not suffer or act anything human?’² The link between a nature and its activity was considered so close that the former can be perceived only through the latter. Nature itself, if imagined stripped of its activities, is non-cognizable. In the Dyenergist camp, this idea was clearly expressed as early as soon after 610 by Sophronius.³ In his *Narration of the miracles of SS Cyrus and John*, he wrote, with reference to John 10, 37 (‘If I am not doing the works of my Father, then do not believe me’):

The Saviour gave us ‘an infallible and sure cognition (ἀπλανῇ καὶ βεβαίαν διάνοιαν), as well as a judgement that never errs (μηδέποτε ψευδομένην διάκρισιν) to cognize those who act (τοὺς ἐνεργοῦντας) from their deeds (ἔργα).’⁴

This issue was discussed again in the fourteenth century, in the context of the so-called ‘hesychast’ controversy. Then the idea of the cognoscibility of a nature only through its activity was applied to the Holy Trinity. The point of Gregory Palamas and his confederates, who represented the party of

¹ *Disputatio* 341^c/Farrel, *The Disputation* 62-63.

² ACO₂ II² 814¹²⁻¹³.

³ See Schönborn, *Sophrone* 105.

⁴ *Narratio* 29, 3509^c.

'hesychasts' was that the essence of the Holy Trinity can be cognized only through the divine *energeiai*. Their opponents, initially the Calabrian monk Barlaam and later Gregory Akindynus first destroyed the correspondence between the divine essence and its *energeiai* by claiming that the *energeiai* are created, and secondly, affirmed that the essence can be cognized by itself, without any mediation of the *energeiai*. Unfortunately for them, they had ignored the theological results of the Monothelite controversy, while, as Christopher von Schönborn rightly remarks, 'le "palamisme" et les développements du VII^e siècle autour de la question des "énergies" sont profondément dans la même ligne, celle d'une théologie économique et mystique.'¹

In his refutation of two natural *energeiai*, Pyrrhus has articulated the objection that if the *energeia* should be ascribed not to the hypostasis, but to the natures of Christ, this would eventually introduce a multiplicity of activities, given that human nature is composed of two major parts, soul and body, which have their own distinctive activities:

If you say there are two energies on account of the distinction (διὰ τὸ διάφορον) of the two natures in Christ, and not one energy on account of the singularity (διὰ τὸ μοναδικὸν) of the Person, then you must also discover two energies of humanity because of that distinction between the soul and the body, which is an essential distinction (διὰ τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν διάφορον). And if this be so, then there will be three energies of Christ, and not two.²

¹ Schönborn, *Sophrone* 211.

² *Disputatio* 336^a/Farrell, *The Disputation* 56.

Actually, Pyrrhus recalled an argument, which in the sixth century was used by the Monophysites, namely, that if there are two natures in Christ, then they are more, because the human one is not simple, but itself composite.¹ This argument was successfully challenged by Leontius of Byzantium, who, in order to refute it, applied to Christ and his natures the Aristotelian category of species (εἶδος). According to Leontius, all humans have one nature, though composite, because they share the same species. As far as Christ is concerned, it is incorrect to speak of one nature because there is no species he could share. As Leontius put it, there is no species of 'Christs'.²

Maximus, in reply to the *aporia* of Pyrrhus, used the same idea, though somewhat modified and developed further. First, however, he remarked that if the logic of Pyrrhus was followed, then Christ should have not two, but three natures:

The very point which you do allege as a negation of the natural properties also stretches out to engulf the natures in the same negation ... If you say, as we do, that there be two natures of Christ in the one hypostasis by means of the distinction between soul and body, which are also two natures, then there shall be three natures of Christ and not two. And if you say as we do that there are two and not three natures of Christ, how can you maintain that there are two

¹ 'Τί οὖν φασιν; Οὐ λέγομεν μίαν φύσιν ἀνθρώπου, καίπερ διάφορα τὰ συνελθόντα γινώσκοντες; Τί δὴ οὖν λυπεῖ, ὥσπερ ὧδε οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνερέσει τῆς ιδιότητος τῶν μερῶν, φύσιν καλοῦμεν τὰς φύσεις, εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ τὸ ὁμοιον ποιοῦντες φαινόμεθα; Ἀλλὰ λοιδορεῖσθε ἡμῖν καὶ διασύρετε, ὡς σύγχυσιν ἐπινόουσιν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ μέρη τῇ τοῦ ὅλου σημαίνομεν ὀνομασία.' *contNestEutych* I PG 86¹, 1289^b.

² 'Κατὰ τί μία καὶ δύο φύσεις ὁ ἄνθρωπος λέγεται; τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει διὰ τὴν τοῦ εἶδους κοινωνίαν, τὸ δὲ κέκτηται διὰ τὴν τῶν μερῶν ἀτρεψίαν. Ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ δὲ οὐκ ὄντος εἶδους, πῶς ἂν μία αἱ δύο λέγοιτο;' *contNestEutych* I PG 86¹, 1292^b.

energies on account of the distinction of natures, for shall there not then be three energies united in the hypostasis?¹

After that he passed to the argument involving the category of species. He called man a species (εἶδος), but his soul and body merely essences (οὐσία). Oneness, which is related to species, appears to be stronger than oneness, which is related to essence. Thus, the former makes all individual men unchangeable as men. The latter, however, has a tendency to vanish when essences separate from each other. Thus, every man, because he shares the same species with other men, has an oneness, which is stronger than the onenesses of his parts, such as soul and body. Therefore, the human *energeia* of Christ, here called by Maximus ἐνέργεια κατ' εἶδος, is one:

But we said that this unity is not proper to the species of man (τὸ κατ' εἶδος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἓν), but is the unity proper to the essence of body and soul (τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἓν). If the unity be proper to the species of man on the one hand, then the indistinguishability of the nature is proven, in spite of the particular energies of body and soul. It is for this reason that we said of man that he has one energy, and we did so not without support, rather, we adduced support for it. Contrawise, you would mishandle the unity of body and soul, and push it into complete non-existence. If this unity which is proper to the essence of body and soul be not proper to him, then it is, of necessity, not proper to us. Thus, one must say either that the one energy of humanity is proper to the species, and is therefore hypostatic, or else that there are three energies because the energies are proper to nature.²

Anastasius Sinaita also touched on the problem of the wholeness of activity of a human nature, though his analysis is rather poorer. Anastasius merely affirmed that the human soul has one whole *energeia*. All its parts,

¹ *Disputatio* 336^{a-b}/Farrell, *The Disputation* 56.

² *Disputatio* 336^{b-c}/Farrell, *The Disputation* 56-57 (modified translation).

namely soul, logos, and *nous* operate in interaction. This interaction is an image and likeness of the one *energeia* of the Holy Trinity.¹

5.2.5. WILL-NATURE

As mentioned before, the Monenergists-Monothelites attributed the single *energeia* of Christ to his person and, to some extent, to his natures, whereas the single will they ascribed only to the person of Christ, not mentioning – at least in the surviving texts – that the will has any relation to the natures. For the Orthodox, on the contrary, the pattern of relations of the two *energeiai* to the hypostasis and to the natures of Christ was applicable to the wills. Some points of this pattern were already examined above. I shall repeat the most important of them. The two wills of Christ belong primarily to his natures, but also to his hypostasis. Thus, Maximus of Aquileia at the fifth session of the Lateran Council characterized Christ as ‘volitional’ (θελητικός, *voluntaries*) according to each of his natures.² The wills and the natures are linked indissolubly, as was declared, for instance, in the letter of Pope Agatho: ‘The human will is natural, and who refuses the human will in Christ, without only the sin, does not recognize that he has a human soul.’³ Each nature, for the

¹ *Opera* 2, I 5⁹⁹⁻¹⁰⁴.

² ‘Καθ’ ἑκατέραν δὲ φύσιν αὐτοῦ θελητικὸν ὄντα τὸν Χριστόν.’ (Per utramque autem eiusdem naturam voluntarium Christum.) ACO₂ I 344¹²; 345¹¹⁻¹².

³ ‘Naturalis est humana voluntas, et qui voluntatem humanam in Christo abnegat absque solo peccato eum nec habere humanam animam confitetur.’ ACO₂ II¹ 77²⁶⁻²⁷.

Pope, can have only its own will, which is able to follow some other will, but never to be substituted by it:

For an angelic nature cannot have a divine or a human will, neither can a human nature have a divine or an angelic will. For no nature can have anything or any motion which pertains to another nature but only that which is naturally given by creation.¹

The *energeiai* and the wills are linked to their proper natures so closely that the way of their unity reflects the way of unity of the natures. Thus, human and divine *energeiai* and wills are united in such a way that they undergo 'no confusion, no change, no division, no separation,' as was stated in the *Horos* of the sixth ecumenical Council, which professed 'two natural wills and two natural operations indivisibly, inconvertibly, inseparably, unconfusedly.'² In this *verbatim* Chalcedonian way, the sixth ecumenical Council declared that there is a unity and a diversity of two *energeiai* and wills in Christ. The balance between the unity and the diversity was carefully observed by the Dyenergist-Dyothelite Authors and primarily by Maximus, who, for instance, stated:

As the number of natures of the one and the same Christ, correctly understood and explained, does not divide Christ but rather preserves the distinction of natures in the union, so likewise the number of essential attributes (τῶν οὐσιωδῶς προσόντων), wills, and operations attached to those two natures does not divide Christ either.³

Even so, the main polemical concern of the Dyothelites was to prove that the wills primarily belong to the natures. Thus Maximus, in his disputation

¹ ACO₂ II¹ 79²³⁻²⁵/NPNF <http://www.ccel.org/fathers/NPNF2-14/6const3/letaga.htm> [23/07/2003].

² ACO₂ II² 774²⁰⁻²¹/NPNF <http://www.ccel.org/fathers/NPNF2-14/6const3/faith.htm> [23/07/2003].

³ *Disputatio* 289^{bc}/Farrell, *The Disputation* 4-5.

with Pyrrhus, offered the following arguments in support of this point. He started with a classic Aristotelian distinction between three kinds of life: vegetable (φυτική), perceptible (αἰσθητική), and finally intellectual (νοερά).¹ A natural feature of the latter kind is the ability of self-determination (αὐτεξούσιος), given that any particular being, which shares the intellectual life, is endowed with this ability. Therefore, as Maximus concluded:

If self-determination (ἡ αὐτεξούσιος κίνησις) be proper by nature to rational natures, then every rational creature is by nature a creature that wills (φύσει θελητικόν), for blessed Diadochus of Photike defined the will as self-determination (τὸ αὐτεξούσιον). So, if all rational natures possess the faculty of will by nature, and if God the Word truly became flesh which was rationally and intellectually animated, then he also became man, possessing the human faculty of will by virtue of his human essence (καθ' ὃ ἄνθρωπος, οὐσιωδῶς ὁ αὐτὸς ἦν θελητικός). And if this be so, then should the natural will ever be mentioned it will be offensive to the ears, not of the devout, but of heretics!²

In addition, nobody is taught to will, but naturally knows how to will. Therefore, it is a feature of nature, because men use what belongs to nature without being taught:

Not only those who have examined the nature of things with their reason, and thus who have surpassed the multitude, but the usage of the uneducated has also affirmed that what is natural is not taught (ἀδίδακτα εἶναι τὰ φυσικά). So, if natural things be not acquired through teaching, then we have will without having acquired it or being taught it (ἀδίδακτον δὲ ἔχομεν τὸ θέλειν), for no one has ever had a will which was acquired by teaching. Consequently, man has the faculty of will by nature.³

¹ See *Eudem* 1219b³⁷; *Nicom* 1102a³²; *Nicom* 1102b²⁹; *deAn* 403b¹⁷; *deAn* 408a¹³; *deAn* 429a¹⁷; *deAn* 431b²⁶; *deAn* 433b³; *deAn* 415a¹⁷; *deAn* 433b³; *De anima* (codicis E fragmenta recensiois a vulgata diversae) 3.421a¹⁹; *deGen* 736a³⁰ etc.

² *Disputatio* 301^c/Farrell, *The Disputation* 22-23.

³ *Disputatio* 304^{b-c}/Farrell, *The Disputation* 24-25.

Another argument was taken from the Triadology. Thus, Maximus remarked that if the *energeiai* of Christ belong to the hypostasis and not to the natures, then we must assume that God has either one hypostasis or three *energeiai*: 'Because of the one operation of the holy Godhead there is one persona as well, or because of its three hypostases that there are three operations.'¹ The same argument is applicable to the wills. If they are not natural, but hypostatic, then God has either one hypostasis or three wills and as a result, three natures:

If one suggests that a 'willer' is implied in the notion of the will, then by the exact inversion of this principle of reasoning, a will is implied in the notion of a 'willer.' Thus, will you say that because of the one will of the superessential Godhead there is only one hypostasis, as did Sabellius, or that because there are three hypostases there are also three wills, and because of this, three natures as well, since the canons and definitions of the Fathers say that the distinction of wills implies a distinction of natures? So did Arius!²

The Triadological argument was also employed at the Lateran. Maximus of Aquileia, in particular, asserted that those insisting that the *energeia* and will in Christ are single, on the assumption that they belong to One-Who-Acts and One-Who-Wills correspondingly, split the Holy Trinity, because then each divine hypostasis must have his own will and *energeia*.³ Pope Agatho later in his *Report* remarked:

For if anybody should mean a personal will, when in the holy Trinity there are said to be three Persons, it would be necessary that there should be asserted

¹ *Disputatio* 336^d-337^a/Farrell, *The Disputation* 57.

² *Disputatio* 289^d/Farrell, *The Disputation* 5-6.

³ ACO₂ I 344³⁴⁻³⁹.

three personal wills, and three personal operations (which is absurd and truly profane).¹

In application to Christ, this means:

When we make a confession concerning one of the same three Persons of that Holy Trinity, of the Son of God, or God the Word, and of the mystery of his adorable dispensation according to the flesh, we assert that all things are double in the one and the same our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ according to the Evangelical tradition, that is to say, we confess his two natures, to wit the divine and the human, of which and in which he, even after the wonderful and inseparable union, subsists. And we confess that each of his natures has its own natural propriety, and that the divine has all things that are divine and the human all things that are human without any sin. And we recognize that each one (of the two natures) of the one and the same incarnated, that is, humanated (*humanati*) Word of God is in him unconfusedly, inseparably and unchangeably, distinguishing in thought alone what is united, to avoid the error of confusion. For we equally detest the blasphemy of division and of commixture. For when we confess two natures and two natural wills, and two natural operations in our one Lord Jesus Christ, we do not assert that they are contrary or opposed one to the other (as those who err from the path of truth and accuse the apostolic tradition of doing. Far be this impiety from the hearts of the faithful!), nor as though separated in two persons or subsistences, but we say that as the same our Lord Jesus Christ has two natures so also he has two natural wills and operations, to wit, the divine and the human: the divine will and operation he has in common with the coessential Father from all eternity: the human, he has received from us, taken with our nature in time.²

Although the distinction between hypostasis and nature, together with the attribution of *energeiai* and wills to nature was clarified, in application to the Holy Trinity, as early as in the fourth century by the Cappadocian Fathers, it was not automatically applied to Christ when Christological problems gradually emerged from the fifth century onwards. Thus, concerning the distinction between the hypostasis and two natures in Christ, the relevant triadologic language was applied only in the *Tome* of Patriarch Proclus (434-446)

¹ ACO₂ II¹ 69⁶⁻⁸/NPNF <http://www.ccel.org/fathers/NPNF2-14/6const3/letaga.htm> [23/07/2003].

² ACO₂ II¹ 61³⁻²¹/NPNF <http://www.ccel.org/fathers/NPNF2-14/6const3/letaga.htm> [23/07/2003].

to the Armenians¹, whereas on the level of the Church it was approved even later, at the fourth ecumenical Council. As for the *energeiai* and wills, their attribution to the natures of Christ was not taken for granted either, notwithstanding that it was accepted in the fourth century in regard to the divine nature of the Holy Trinity,² and although partially Cappadocian language was made applicable to Christ during the controversies of the fifth century. The Orthodox polemicists, starting with Maximus, had again to prove that Trinitarian or Cappadocian language was legitimate in respect to the *energeiai* and wills of Christ. This legitimacy was finally approved by the sixth ecumenical Council.

Among the objections that prevented the Monothelites from accepting **natural** *energeiai* and wills in Christ, was that for them whatever related to nature meant subjection to necessity.³ Concerning *energeiai*, according to Anastasius Sinaita, they claimed:

¹ ACO₁ IV² 187-195 (CPG 5897); see Marcel Richard. 'L'introduction du mot hypostase dans la théologie de l'incarnation.' *Mélanges de science religieuse* 2 (1945): 12-17.

² See, for instance, Gregory of Nyssa: 'Μία γὰρ καὶ ὁμοία ἡ ἐνέργεια Πατρὸς, καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, μία ἰσχὺς, καὶ μία δύναμις, μία θέλησις, μία γνώμη.' *adImag* 44.1344¹⁰⁻¹³; 'Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν καθ' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ εἰρημένου πᾶσαν ἐνέργειαν οὐ διηρημένως ἐνεργεῖ κατὰ τὸν τῶν ὑποστάσεων ἀριθμὸν ἡ ἁγία Τριάς, ἀλλὰ μία τις γίνεται τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θελήματος κίνησις τε καὶ διάδοσις, ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ πρὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα διεξαγομένη, ὡς οὐ λέγομεν τρεῖς ζωοποιούς τοὺς τὴν μίαν ἐνεργοῦντας ζωὴν οὐδὲ τρεῖς ἀγαθοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀγαθότητι θεωρουμένους οὐδὲ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα πληθυντικῶς ἐξαγγέλλομεν, οὕτως οὐδὲ τρεῖς ὀνομάζειν δυνάμεθα τοὺς τὴν θεϊκὴν ταύτην ἥτοι ἐποπτικὴν δύναμιν τε καὶ ἐνέργειαν συνημμένως καὶ ἀδιακρίτως δι' ἀλλήλων ἐφ' ἡμῶν τε καὶ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως ἐνεργοῦντας (*adAblab* 3,1.48²⁰⁻⁴⁹). Didymus: 'Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν θέλημα, καὶ μίαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν τῆς Τριάδος εἶναι λέγομεν. Ὡν δὲ θέλησις, καὶ ἐξουσία, καὶ ἐν ἐργεῖα μία. Ἄρα μία καὶ ἡ θεότης (*deTrinit* 39.601¹²⁻¹⁵).

³ This is the third principle of Monothelitism, according to J. Farrell, *Free choice* 82-84.

But, they say, Christ subjected himself to, accepted, and did the human (works) deliberately (ἐκουσίως); and those (things) that happen deliberately and not of necessity (ἐξ ἀνάγκης), do not relate to the laws of the nature.¹

As for the wills, the objection was articulated by Pyrrhus:

If you say that the will is natural, and if what is natural is compelled, and if you say that the wills in Christ are natural, how can you avoid being obliged to take away all his voluntary motion?²

Thus, for the Monenergists-Monothelites, if the *energeia* and the will were natural, they would be subject to necessity. This would mean that whatever Christ acted and willed he did not do so voluntarily, but as compelled by law of nature. Maximus challenged this *aporia* by reducing it *ad absurdum*. Indeed, if Christ's natural will is subject to necessity, then God's will is too. Moreover, whatever relates to God's nature would not be voluntary as well. Thus, God would be good, Creator and on top of that God by necessity. As for created intellectual beings, their intellectual capacities, given that they are linked to will and to nature, would be enslaved by necessity:

Not only does his divine and uncreated nature have no natural compulsion (οὐδὲν ἡναγκασμένον ἔχει φυσικόν), neither does his rational and created. For the rational nature has the natural ability (δύναμιν φυσικήν) and rational appetite (λογικὴν ὄρεξιν) proper to it. This is called the 'faculty of will' of the rational soul. It is according to this faculty that we consider when willing, and in considering, we choose the things which we would. And when willing we also inquire, examine, deliberate, judge, are inclined toward, elect, impel ourselves toward, and make use of a thing. As has already been stated, if the rational appetite, in other words, willing and consideration, be proper to our nature, then so are deliberation, inquiry, examination, choice, judgement, inclination towards, election, and the impelling of ourselves toward something the natural actions of rational things, and these are not subject to compulsion.

¹ *Opera* 2 VI 1⁶⁹⁻⁷².

² *Disputatio* 293^b. Also Pope Martin remarked concerning this point of the Monothelites: 'Τῇ δὲ ἀνάγκῃ τὸ φυσικὰ λέγειν αὐτά (= θελήματα) μηχανῶνται καταπαλαίειν.' (Per necessitatem autem naturales eas (=voluntates) dicere machinantur.) ACO₂ I 348¹²⁻¹³; 349¹¹⁻¹².

Once this is admitted, your proposition is shown to be most absurd, for according to it, what is natural is also entirely compelled (τὸ φυσικὸν πάντως καὶ ἡναγκασμένον). If one were to continue in this line of reasoning, then God, Who is by nature good, and by nature Creator, must of necessity be not only God and good, but also Creator. To think, much less to speak, in this manner is blasphemous.¹

The problem of the alleged necessity of natural *energeiai* and wills in Christ was also touched on by other Dyothelite authors and in particular by the fathers of the Lateran Council. Here the ideas developed by Maximus during his disputation with Pyrrhus, were repeated by Maximus of Aquileia:

Is it not true that man is rational by nature? (Does this mean that he is such) not voluntarily, but by force (ἀβουλήτως καὶ ἡναγκασμένως)? Tell me, is not the God of the universe good by nature? (Is he not by nature) light, life, wisdom, and power? (Does this mean that) he is such also not voluntarily, but because of necessity (ἀβουλήτως καὶ ὡς ἐξ' ἀνάγκης)?²

The answer of the Dyothelites was: 'The wills are natural and free of any necessity.'³

5.2.6. ENERGEIA – WILL – NATURAL PROPERTIES

As shown earlier, the Monenergists-Monothelites generally accepted that the properties of each nature in Christ remain unchangeable.⁴ They also

¹ *Disputatio* 293^{b-c}/Farrell, *The Disputation* 11-13.

² ACO₂ I 348²⁶⁻²⁹; 349²⁵⁻²⁸.

³ 'Φυσικά τὰ θελήματα καὶ πάσης ἀνάγκης ἀπηλλαγμένα.' (Voluntates naturales sunt et omni necessitate carentes.) ACO₂ I 350⁷; 351⁶⁻⁷.

⁴ See, for example, *Ecthesis*, ACO₂ I 158²⁰; the confessions of Macarius, ACO₂ II¹ 216¹⁴⁻¹⁵, ACO₂ II¹ 222⁷⁻⁹.

complied with the conception of *communicatio idiomatum*.¹ Moreover, they used this conception for their own polemical purposes and in particular to support their teaching about a single will in Christ. For instance, Patriarch Paul wrote to Pope Theodore:

We preach the miracles and know the sufferings of one and the same God Logos who became flesh and deliberately suffered for our sake through the flesh; hence is said that God suffered and the son of man descended from heaven...; for this reason we confess one will of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ.²

Because for the Monenergists-Monothelites the *energeiai* and the wills, unlike properties, did not belong to the natures, they could not be listed among the properties. The Orthodox thought differently and insistently attributed the wills and the *energeiai* to the properties. In such a way they persuaded their opponents to accept that the *energeiai* and wills through the properties belong to the natures. For them, each nature of Christ preserved its *energeia* and will, as with any other property. Patriarch Sophronius, in particular, showed this in regard to the *energeiai*:

For, as each nature in Christ preserves without omission its property, in the same way each form (μορφή) acts in communion with the other whatever is proper to it (τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἴδιον ἔσχηκε).³

This idea was repeated by Maximus, who attributed to the *energeiai* the properties of the natures:

¹ See, for example, the letter of Patriarch Paul to Pope Theodore, ACO₂ I 200²²⁻²⁴.

² ACO₂ II² 608¹⁴⁻¹⁵.

³ ACO₂ II¹ 442¹⁴⁻¹⁶.

It is surely necessary for natural things to correspond with their appropriate natures, for how it is possible for the energy of a created nature to be uncreated, without beginning, infinite, creative, and sustaining? And the reverse: how is it possible for the uncreated and eternal nature to be created, a thing made, tried and compelled by other things?¹

The same identification was applied to the wills, as, for instance, in the speech of Pope Martin: 'The *energeia* and will of our essence constituted its (= of the essence) natural property.'² A similar statement occurs in Maximus:

The Fathers decreed that ... the same person is visible and invisible, mortal and immortal, corruptible and incorruptible, touchable and untouchable, created and uncreated. And according to the same reverent way of understanding, they also correctly taught that there are two wills of one and the same person.³

Maximus went even further in his attribution of the wills to the properties. For him, the will was not just a 'natural power' (φυσικὴ δύναμις), but also an 'intellectual desire' (λογικὴ ὁρεξίη) of a soul.⁴ Therefore, such faculties of an 'intellectual soul' as willing, thinking, *etc.*, are indissolubly linked to each other so that

we consider when willing, and in considering, we choose the things which we would. And when willing we also inquire, examine, deliberate, judge, are inclined toward, elect, impel ourselves toward, and make use of a thing.⁵

This statement implies that, first, the listed faculties are to some extent just different names of the same thing.¹ Second, all of them have some relation

¹ *Disputatio* 341^a/Farrell, *The Disputation* 61.

² ACO₂ II¹ 406¹²⁻¹³; 407¹¹⁻¹²; see also Pope Agatho: 'Quidquid ad proprietates naturarum pertinet, duplicia omnia confitetur.' ACO₂ II¹ 67²⁶⁻⁶⁸¹.

³ *Disputatio* 300^b/Farrell, *The Disputation* 19.

⁴ *Disputatio* 293^b.

⁵ *Disputatio* 293^{b-c}/Farrell, *The Disputation* 11-12.

to the will and consequently could be characterized as volitional. Once the will is one of the natural properties, then owing to the *communicatio idiomatum* it would be correct also to speak about *communicatio voluntatum*. Precisely as in the case of the natural properties, the *communicatio voluntatum* does not imply that the wills undergo any change or confusion: 'Thus, if you say that there is a common will by the mode of exchange (τῷ τῆς ἀντιδόσεως τρόπῳ), then you are really saying that there is not one will but two wills.'²

5.2.7. ENERGEIA – WILL

For both the Orthodox and their opponents, the *energeia* and will in Christ were closely linked. Sophronius, for instance, stated that Christ acted only when he wanted to, and not because of any natural necessity. This in effect means an indissoluble relation between *energeia* and will:

When he himself willed to suffer, work, and act humanly ..., and not when the natural and fleshy movements wanted to move naturally towards the accomplishing of *energeia* (αἱ φυσικαὶ κινήσεις καὶ σαρκικαὶ κινεῖσθαι φυσικῶς πρὸς ἐνέργειαν ἤθελον).³

¹ Elsewhere in the disputation Maximus characteristically remarked: 'Προσηγόρευσαν αὐτὴν καὶ δύναμιν, καὶ ἐνέργειαν, καὶ διαφοράν, καὶ κίνησιν, καὶ ιδιότητα, καὶ ποιότητα, καὶ πάθος, οὐ κατὰ ἀντιδιαστολὴν τῆς θείας· ἀλλ' ὥς μὲν συνεκτικὴν ἀναλλοίωτον, δύναμιν· ὥς δὲ χαρακτηριστικὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ὁμοειδέσιν ἀπαρραλλοῦσαν, ἐνέργειαν· ὥς δὲ ἀφοριστικὴν, διαφοράν· ὥς δὲ ἐνδεικτικὴν, κίνησιν· ὥς δὲ συστατικὴν, καὶ μόνη αὐτῇ καὶ οὐκ ἄλλῃ προσοῦσαν, ιδιότητα· ὥς δὲ εἰδοποιόν, ποιότητα· ὥς δὲ κινουμένην, πάθος. Πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐκ Θεοῦ, καὶ μετὰ Θεόν, πάσχει τῷ κινεῖσθαι, ὥς μὴ ὄντα αὐτοκίνησις, ἢ αὐτοδύναμις· οὐ κατὰ ἀντιδιαστολὴν οὖν, ὥς εἴρηται, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν δημιουργικῶς αὐτοῖς ἐντεθέντα παρὰ τῆς τοῦ πᾶν συστησαμένης αἰτίας λόγον. Ὅθεν καὶ μετὰ τῆς θείας συνεκφωνοῦντες αὐτήν, ἐνέργειαν προσηγόρευσαν.' *Disputatio* 352^{a-b}.

² *Disputatio* 297^a/Farrell, *The Disputation* 16.

³ ACO² II¹ 450¹⁴⁻¹⁶.

Maximus of Aquileia considered *energeia* and will to be so close to each other that he called the *energeiai* 'volitional' (θελητική, *voluntaria*).¹

As for the Monenergists-Monothelites, they also supported a close relation between the *energeia* and the will. For them, Christ suffered voluntarily (έκουσίως)², which means that the *energeia* of sufferings was accompanied by an act of willing. Also, Macarius of Antioch in his oral confession determined will as δύναμις πρὸς ὑπομονήν τούτων πάντων.³ Then, for the authors of the *Ecthesis*, the *energeia* of Christ, which was called *natural moving* (φυσική κίνησις), was subordinate to the command (νεῦμα) of the Word that is his divine will.⁴ Thus, for the Monenergists-Monothelites, the single *energeia* of Christ automatically meant the single will, and for the Orthodox two *energeiai* meant two wills. However, the relation between the will and the *energeia* in the Monenergist-Monothelite doctrine was not so immediate and close as for the Orthodox. As has been said, the Orthodox established the relation between the *energeiai* and wills of Christ as between the properties of the same nature. For them, therefore, the *energeiai* and wills were virtually manifestations of the same

¹ ACO₂ I 334¹¹.

² For example, Patriarch Paul wrote to Pope Theodore: 'Τὰ πάθη γνωρίζομεν, ἀπερ σαρκὶ δι' ἡμᾶς έκουσίως ὑπέμεινεν.' ACO₂ II² 608¹¹⁻¹²; see also *Ecthesis*, ACO₂ I 158^{17, 28}.

³ ACO₂ II¹ 216²⁰⁻²¹.

⁴ 'Εν μηδενὶ καιρῷ τῆς νοερῆς ἐψυχωμένης αὐτοῦ σαρκὸς κεχωρισμένως καὶ ἐξ οἰκείας ὀρμῆς ἐναντίως τῷ νεύματι τοῦ ἡνωμένου αὐτῇ καθ' ὑπόστασιν Θεοῦ Λόγου τὴν φυσικὴν αὐτῆς ποιήσασθαι κίνησιν, ἀλλ' ὅποτε καὶ οἶαν καὶ ὅσῃν αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡβούλετο.' *Ecthesis*, ACO₂ I 160²⁶⁻²⁹.

thing. The Monenergists-Monothelites treated the link *will-energeia* in a different way. They ascribed the single will of Christ to his person, whereas the single *energeia* they did not attribute exclusively to his hypostasis. Hence, a certain 'gap' between the *energeia* and the will emerged, which cannot be found in the Orthodox doctrine. This 'gap' would probably have disappeared if the Monenergists-Monothelites had attributed the *energeia* exclusively to the person of Christ. As they did not, the relation between the *energeia* and the will in their system was weakened.

5.3. THE CONTRIBUTION OF ANASTASIOS OF SINAI

There is still confusion over the various authors known under the name of Anastasios of Sinai. Little is known about Anastasios, who participated in the polemics against Monothelitism. He was born around 640 and died after 700. He served as an abbot at the monastery of St Catherine at Mount Sinai and became famous because of his treatises against Judaism, Nestorianism, Monophysitism, and Monenergism-Monothelitism.¹ His most renowned work is *Ὁδηγός* or *Viae Dux*, published in a critical edition by K.-H. Uthemann², who

¹ For an account of his identity and life, see Στέργιου Σάκκου, *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναιτῶν*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1964; F. W. Bautz, 'Anastasius Sinaita' *BBKL* http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/a/anastasius_sinaita.shtml [10/06/2002]; PmbZ 268-270; Winkelmann, *Der m.-m. Streit*, pp. 194-195. A relevant monograph of Joannes Baptista Kumpfmüller (*De Anastasio Sinaita, Dissertatio Maintaining That He, and Not Anastasius I, Patriarch of Antioch, Is the Author of the Hodegus*. Wirceburgi, 1865), is out of date.

² *Anastasio Sinaitae Vie Dux*. Turnhout; [Leuven]: Brepols; Leuven University Press, 1981.

also produced a critical edition of Anastasius' sermons, including his anti-Monothelite ones.¹

Anastasius' theological heritage unfortunately remains almost untouched by research.² However, he made a significant contribution to the development of Christological doctrine in general and Dyothelitism in particular, which would repay attention by scholars. Anastasius was a brilliant and eloquent polemicist against Monothelitism and Monenergism, whose teaching is original not *per se*, because he remained faithfully Orthodox and followed the path outlined by his predecessors, but in its form. Anastasius' purpose was not only to expound and defend the Orthodox faith, but also to deliver it to his audience in the most comprehensible way. He was a missionary of Orthodox doctrine rather than a polemicist.

I examine his teaching about the activity and will in a separate chapter for several reasons. First, it has some original aspects that deserve to be considered independently from the rest of the Dyenergist-Dyothelite literature. Additionally, he apparently represented a later post-conciliar period of anti-

¹ *Anastasii Sinaitae Sermones Duo in Constitutionem Hominis Secundum Imaginem Dei; Necnon Opuscula Adversus Monotheletas, Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca; 12.* Turnhout; [Leuven]: Brepols: Leuven University Press, 1985.

² See Theophil Späcil. 'La teologia di Anastasio Sinaita.' *Bessarione* 38 (1922): 157-178, 39 (1923): 15-44. This research remains practically inaccessible and out of date. See also John Haldon. 'The works of Anastasius of Sinai.' *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East* 1 (1992): 107-147; Otto Bardenhewer. *Geschichte Der Altkirchlichen Literatur*. 2e, umgearb. Aufl. ed. Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, B. 5, 1932, 41-47; Georg Graf. *Geschichte Der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur*. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1944, 375f.; Berthold Altaner and Hilda C. Graef. *Patrology*. Roma: Herder, 1960, 633-634; А.И. Сидоров. *Преп. Анастасий Синаит Избранные творения*. М., Паломник, 2003.

Monothelite polemic. His contribution to the victory of Orthodoxy at the Council 680/681 was imperceptible, if it existed at all. Finally, he lived and moved in the regions that were cut off the Roman Empire by the Muslim invasion and therefore could not be immediately involved in the mainstream theological discussions of his time.

5.3.1. WHOM WAS ANASTASIUS ADDRESSING?

Whom was Anastasius addressing? The Sinaita reported his travels to Syria and Egypt where he had a number of meetings and disputes, sometimes public, with various local Monophysite factions.¹ During these travels, he apparently faced Monenergism and Monothelitism integrated into the non-Chalcedonian doctrines. Therefore, it was, firstly, in the context of his refutation of Monophysitism that he touched on the problem of the wills and activities of Christ. In particular, he referred to this problem in the context of discussions about 'Theopaschism'.² As adherents of this doctrine, Anastasius mentioned the Theodosians and the Gairites³ who he contacted directly and argued with publicly.⁴ Another Christological context within which Anastasius touched on

¹ See *ViaeDux* VI 1¹¹¹⁻¹¹⁴, IX 2⁸⁸ ff.

² See, for example, *ViaeDux* XII.

³ See *ViaeDux* XII 2¹⁻³.

⁴ See: 'Διαλεγόμενων γὰρ ἡμῶν πάλιν πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου πάθους καὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.' *ViaeDux* XII 1²²⁻²⁴.

the problem of the activities and wills, was that of the corruptibility of Christ's body and its identity with ordinary men's bodies. He raised this issue in the description of a dispute between an Orthodox and an 'Acephalus'.¹ The latter articulated the ideas of various Monophysite confessions including that of the 'Aphthartodocetes'.² In particular, to the Acephalus was ascribed the belief that the flesh of Christ was uncorrupted.³ To Anastasius, this assumption would eventually lead to Monenergism.⁴ In order to refute the latter, he composed an extensive list of the activities which either constituted 'blameless passions' or could be ascribed only to the humanity of Christ.

It was not only the anti-Chalcedonian Monothelites and Monenergists that Anastasius argued with, but also their Chalcedonian associates, for example the Harmasites.⁵ According to Marcel Richard, 'les Harmasites étaient bien monothélites, mais n'ont pu exister comme secte, sous ce titre, qu'après le III^e concile de Constantinople, VI^e œcuménique, de l'an 681.'⁶ F. Diekamp also suggested that this group appeared in opposition to the sixth ecumenical

¹ *ViaeDux* XIII: 'Ανάκρισις ἥτοι συζήτησις καὶ γυμνασία ὀρθοδόξου καὶ ἀκεφάλου.'

² See *ViaeDux* XIII 17.

³ See *ViaeDux* XIII 3²³⁻²⁵.

⁴ See *ViaeDux* XIII 4⁵²⁻⁵1²⁰.

⁵ See: 'Γινώτε, ὧ οἱ τῆς Ἀρματικῆς ὀρχήστρας θυμελικοὶ παῖδες' *Opera* 2 X 1⁴⁴⁵; 'Οἱ τῆς Ἀρματικῆς θυμέλης παῖδες.' *Opera* 2 X 5⁸.

⁶ Marcel Richard. 'Anastase le Sinaïte, l'Hodegos et le Monothélisme.' *Revue d'Etudes byzantines* 16 (1958), 30.

Council.¹ This sect was founded or/and led by Harmasius (Ἀρμάσιος) of Alexandria who was anathematized, according to the *Doctrina Patrum*, together with the other leaders of Monothelitism: Cyrus of Alexandria, Theodore of Pharan, Sergius of Constantinople, Honorius of Rome, Pyrrhus, Paul, and Peter of Constantinople, Macarius of Antioch, his disciple Stephan, and the hieromonk Polychronius.² The author of the fragment of the *Doctrina Patrum*, in which Harmasius was mentioned, referred to him as his contemporary (μέχρι νῦν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μαχόμενος), whereas the other Monothelites had already vanished. Anastasius also referred to Harmasius' followers as his contemporary interlocutors. The background of this group was Chalcedonian. Its members apparently accepted two natures in Christ, though they denied two wills and *energeiai*. There are several testimonies in favour of their Chalcedonianism. First, in the above-mentioned passage from the *Doctrina Patrum*, Harmasius was listed together with the Chalcedonians. Second, the author of a *scholion* to the *Viae dux* presented the issue of Christ's natures as a main point in the argument with the Jacobites, whereas he regarded the question of the 'theandric *energeia*'³ as a main issue in the controversy with the Harmasites. The Harmasites were

¹ See *DoctPatrum* LXXIX ff.

² *DoctPatr* 271⁶⁻¹⁶.

³ 'Οὕτως ἐρωτήσατε αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ οὕτως ἀρμόσασθε πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸν προκείμενον σκοπόν, τοὺς μὲν Ἰακωβίτας περὶ φύσεων, τοὺς δὲ Ἀρμασίτας περὶ θεανδρικῆς ἐνεργείας.' *ViaeDux* XIII 6¹⁷⁻²⁰.

probably the followers of Cyrus of Alexandria, as has been suggested by Diekamp and Richard.

In the *Viae dux*, Anastasius was referring mostly to the anti-Chalcedonian Monothelites, whereas in the chapters against Monothelitism he argued chiefly against the Chalcedonian Monothelites. Anastasius was not only addressing conscious opponents of Orthodoxy, but also those who were vacillating about the issue of the *energeiai* and wills. In particular, as Anastasius reported, some people became easily confused by the word 'natural' regarding the natures, wills, and activities of Christ.¹ Another indication can be found in the *scholia* to the works of Anastasius. Their author urged his readers to be cautious in conversations with their opponents, and advised to avoid if possible using such formulas as 'two natural wills' and 'two natural *energeiai*.' These formulas must be referred to with 'reverence, fear of God, and prudence.'²

Whether arguing with the Chalcedonian or non-Chalcedonian Monothelites, or talking to those who were in doubt, Anastasius was referring mostly to the later variation of Monenergism-Monothelitism, as can be seen from his sermons. For example, in his sermon against the Monothelites, known also as a third homily on the creation of man, he remarked that he was writing twenty years after the Council of 680/681.³ The *Viae dux* was also composed after

¹ *ViaeDux* I 2¹³⁻¹⁹.

² See *Opera* 2 *scholia longiora*, scholion 1-7, pp. 51-52.

³ See *Opera* 2 III 1¹⁰⁷⁻¹⁰⁸.

the ecumenical Council. Although Jean Maspéro thought that this treatise was written at the early stage of the controversy, before 630¹, this suggestion was convincingly refuted by Marcel Richard.²

5.3.2. HYPOSTASIS – NATURE – WILL – *ENERGEIA*

As has been pointed out, Anastasius' objective was to deliver Orthodox dogmas to his audience in the most appropriate way. For this purpose, he sometimes tolerated the theological incorrectness of his opponents as, for example, when he accepted the Harmasites' rejection of the 'blameless passions' in Christ.³ He followed the principles of 'neo-Chalcedonianism' and should be regarded as a neo-Chalcedonian theologian. In this context, he showed a great respect for Cyril and distinguished him among the other Fathers of the Church.⁴ He also used both μία φύσις and δύο φύσεις formulas in regard of Christ⁵, anathematized those who rejected the formula 'one incarnate nature of God Logos' (μία τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου φύσις σεσαρκωμένη), as interpreted by Cyril⁶,

¹ J. Maspéro, *Histoire des patriarches* 339.

² 'Anastase le Sinaïte, l'Hodegos et le Monothélisme.' *Revue d'Etudes byzantines* 16 (1958) (= *Opera Minora*. Turnhout: Brepols, v. III, 1976, no. 63).

³ *Opera* 2 X 5²⁻²³.

⁴ See *ViaeDux* VII 1¹⁹⁻²².

⁵ See M. Richard, 'Le néo-chalcédonisme' 156-161; C. Moeller, 'Le chalcédonisme' 666 ff.; A. Grillmeier, *Christ* II² 431.

⁶ *ViaeDux* III 2, 10-12.

and accepted the 'theopaschite' formula, though under the condition of its Orthodox interpretation.¹

Anastasius paid special attention to the unity of Christ. To him, the hypostatic unity of the natures in Christ overcame any other kind of unity occurring in the world.² At the same time, he did not dismiss the distinctions in Christ established by the preceding generations of the Fathers. Anastasius regarded the distinction between nature and hypostasis as crucially important. He believed that the confusion of these two notions was the main reason for all heresies, including Arianism, Apollinarianism, Nestorianism, and Monophysitism. A significant part of his *Viae dux* was devoted to proving this point.³

Along with the notions of nature and hypostasis, Anastasius thoroughly inquired into the notion of *energeia*. To him, it was a power and a movement inherent in the nature. Everything that exists has its own *energeia*. Only what does not exist has no *energeia*. *Energeia* manifests the nature. Whatever participates in a nature, necessarily participates in the nature's *energeia*.⁴ This

¹ 'Εγώ ὁ Ἀναστάσιος μοναχὸς τοῦ ἁγίου ὄρους Σινᾶ ὁμολογῶ, ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων αὐτὸς ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἐτάφη καὶ ἔπαθε καὶ ἀνέστη.' *ViaeDux* X 337-40.

² See *ViaeDux* II 59.

³ See *ViaeDux* VIII-IX.

⁴ 'Ἐνέργεια τοίνυν ἐστὶ ... ἡ φυσικὴ ἐκάστης οὐσίας δύναμις τε καὶ κίνησις, ἥς μόνον ἐστέρηται τὸ μὴ ὄν. Τὸ γὰρ οὐσίας τινὸς μετασχὼν συμμετέξει πάντως καὶ τῆς δηλοῦσης αὐτὴν ἐνεργείας.' *ViaeDux* II 476-79. Anastasius referred to Gregory of Nyssa's *ad Xenodorum*:

distinction, as shown above, was widely used by the previous generation of the Dyenergists-Dyothelites.

Anastasius inherited from them also another distinction, which was promoted mainly by Maximus the Confessor – the distinction between the activity and its result. He referred to these two notions as ἐνέργεια and ἐνέργημα correspondingly.¹ The word ἐνέργημα is composed of the verb ἐνεργέω and the suffix -ημα, which normally gives a word the meaning of the result of an activity. Following the same paradigm, Anastasius used a synonym to the word ἐνέργημα – the word προᾶγμα² that is composed of the verb πράττω and the suffix -μα and means, in this context, ‘what has been done.’ Both ἐνέργεια and ἐνέργημα were for Anastasius different from the ἐνεργητικόν that denoted a subject of the activity.³

Anastasius made another important distinction between the nature and its activity as regards their cognoscibility. Both the human and the divine natures, to him, were incognizable *per se*. As far as human nature was concerned, Anastasius ascribed this property mainly to the soul, which for him constituted a principal component of human nature. Thus, the soul is ‘neither

‘Ἐνεργειαν γὰρ ἡμεῖς εἶναι φαμεν τὴν φυσικὴν ἐκάστης οὐσίας δυνάμιν τε καὶ κίνησιν, ἧς χωρὶς οὔτε ἐστὶν οὔτε γινώσκεται φύσις.’ Diekamp, ‘Ein christologisches Florilegium.’ 14-15.

¹ See: ‘Ἐνέργημα ... τὸ ἀποτελεσμα, ὅπερ ἀποτελεῖ ἡ ἐνέργεια τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος.’ *ViaeDux* II 4¹⁷⁸⁻¹⁷⁹.

² *ViaeDux* XIII 7²³.

³ ‘Ἐνεργητικὸν μὲν γὰρ εἰρηται αὐτὸ τὸ ὄν, τὸ τῆς οὐσίας προᾶγμα.’ *ViaeDux* II 4¹⁷⁷⁻¹⁷⁸.

visible, nor explainable (ἐρμηνευομένη) and comprehensible (καταλαμβανομένη) according to its nature, species (τῷ εἶδει), form (σχήματι, μορφῇ), quality (ποιότητι), quantity (ποσότητι), existence (ὑπάρξει), composition (συστάσει), or beauty (κάλλει).¹ The human soul manifests itself only through its *energeiai*. Anastasius linked this fact to the very name *energeia*: 'Energeia is so called because (the nature) exists (εἶναι) i.e. appears (φαίνεσθαι) in its works (ἐν ἔργοις).'² The human *energeiai* can be seen in the body, which is a means of the manifestation of the soul.³ The same characteristics can be attributed to the nature of God. Like human nature, it is inconceivable⁴ and manifests itself only through its *energeiai*. While the body is a means of the manifestation of human nature, the divine nature appears through the created world.⁵ The property of the human soul to be inconceivable *per se*, and to manifest itself only through the *energeiai*, exists owing to the similar property of the divine nature, provided the human soul is an image of the divine nature.⁶

¹ *Opera* 2 I 2⁴⁷⁻⁵⁰; see also *ViaeDux* II 1⁵⁹⁻⁶⁰: 'Δυσόριστον δὲ τὸ κτιστὸν καὶ ἀόρατον, οἷον ἄγγελος, ψυχὴ, δαίμων.'

² *ViaeDux* II 4¹⁸⁰⁻¹⁸¹.

³ 'Ὅθεν πάντα τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν (= the soul) ἀγνοοῦντες ἐκ μόνων τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι ταύτης ἐνεργειῶν τὴν ὑπαρξιν αὐτῆς πιστούμεθα.' *Opera* 2 I 2⁵⁷⁻⁵⁹.

⁴ See *Opera* 2 I 2⁵⁹⁻⁶¹.

⁵ 'Τὸν Θεὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ ὁρωμένη κτίσει αὐτοῦ ἐνεργημάτων τὴν αὐτοῦ βεβαιούμεθα ὑπαρξιν.' *Opera* 2 I 2⁵⁹⁻⁶¹. Anastasius repeated this point in another passage: 'Καὶ πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, διὰ τούτων μανθάνομεν τὸν τρόπον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὥσπερ ἐν τινι σώματι, ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ φανερώσεώς τε καὶ ἀναδείξεως.' *Opera* 2 I 4²⁰⁻²².

⁶ 'Πᾶσα δὲ ἡ περὶ αὐτῆς ἀκαταληψία καὶ ἀσάφεια καὶ ἀδηλία οὐδὲν ἕτερον αἰνίττεται εἰ μὴ τὸ κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς εἰκόνα αὐτὴν εἶναι τοῦ ἀκαταλήπτου Θεοῦ.' *Opera* 2 I 2⁵⁵⁻⁵⁷. The same

Anastasius considered the *energeia* of the human nature to be composite (συστατική)¹, because the nature to which it belongs is composite. The components of human nature, however, do not act independently from each other, but always in interaction. Therefore, their activities are not independent either, but constitute a single *energeia*. This activity is not fragmented, but whole and undivided – in the image and likeness of the single *energeia* of the Holy Trinity.² Anastasius developed this idea further and introduced a hierarchy of the *energeiai*. At the very foundation of this hierarchy is the ‘most comprehensive’ (περιεκτικωτάτη)³, ‘embracing’ (περιληπτική)⁴, ‘the most important’ (κυριωτάτη)⁵, ‘the most general’ (γενικωτάτη)¹, ‘unitary’ (ένιαία)²,

idea occurs in the Basil of Caesarea’s homily *Εἰς τὸ Πρόσεχε σεαυτῷ*: ‘Αόρατον τὸν Θεὸν εἶναι πίστευε, τὴν σεαυτοῦ ψυχὴν ἐννοήσας, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὴ σωματικοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀληπτὸς ἐστίν. Οὔτε γὰρ κέχρωσται, οὔτε ἐσχημάτισται, οὔτε τινὶ χαρακτηρὶ σωματικῷ περιέληπται, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν γνωρίζεται μόνον.’ *Attende Tibi* 35¹⁸⁻²². It was articulated more explicitly in the *Περὶ κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου* of Gregory of Nyssa: ‘Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῶν περὶ τὴν θείαν φύσιν θεωρουμένων ἐστὶ τὸ ἀκατάληπτον τῆς οὐσίας· ἀνάγκη πᾶσα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὴν εἰκόνα πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ἔχειν τὴν μίμῃσιν. Εἰ γὰρ ἡ μὲν τῆς εἰκόνης φύσις κατελαμβάνετο, τὸ δὲ πρωτότυπον ὑπὲρ κατάληψιν ἦν· ἡ ἐναντιότης τῶν ἐπιθεωρουμένων τὸ διημαρτημένον τῆς εἰκόνης διήλεγχεν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ διαφεύγει τὴν γνώσιν ἡ κατὰ τὸν νοῦν τὸν ἡμέτερον φύσις, ὅς ἐστι κατ’ εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος, ἀκριβῆ πρὸς τὸ ὑπερκείμενον ἔχει τὴν ὁμοιότητα, τῷ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἀγνώστῳ χαρακτηρίζων τὴν ἀκατάληπτον φύσιν.’ *de Opificio* 156.

¹ *Opera* 2 III 4⁷¹.

² ‘Ὅφει μίαν καὶ ὁμοίαν τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἐν ἡμῖν. Οὔτε γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ δίχα λόγου ἐπιτελεῖ τι, οὔτε ὁ λόγος δίχα ψυχῆς, οὔτε μὴν ὁ νοῦς πάλιν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν χωρὶς τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ λόγου κατεργάζεται τι, διὰ τὴν ὁμοφυὴ καὶ συμφυὴ καὶ ἀλληλένδετον αὐτῶν κοινὴν δύναμιν τε καὶ ἐνέργειαν τὴν κατ’ εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ.’ *Opera* 2 I 5⁹⁹⁻¹⁰⁴.

³ *Opera* 2 VII 1³⁴⁻³⁵.

⁴ *Opera* 2 VII 1⁶⁴.

⁵ *Opera* 2 VII 1³⁵.

and 'essential' (οὐσιώδης)³ *energeia*. This *energeia* constitutes a root that sheds and gives rise (πηγαία καὶ γεννητικὴ ῥίζα)⁴ to the derivative *energeiai* that appear to be the offspring and branches (βλαστοὶ καὶ κλώνες) of the former⁵. The latter were considered by Anastasius as *energeiai*⁶ or 'cooperative *energeiai*' (συνέργειαι)⁷ of the chief *energeia*. They are particular *energeiai* (μερικαί⁸, κατὰ μέρος⁹) which were born (ἀποτικτομέναι)¹⁰ and produced (προϊοῦσαι)¹¹ by the chief one.¹² Every nature has a similar hierarchy of *energeiai*.¹³ Anastasius illustrated this distinction by the example of fire. The chief *energeia* of fire is a

¹ *Opera* 2 VII 1⁴³.

² *Opera* 2 VII 1⁶⁹.

³ *Opera* 2 VII 1³⁸.

⁴ *Opera* 2 VII 1³⁵⁻³⁶.

⁵ *Opera* 2 VII 1⁴⁴⁻⁴⁵.

⁶ *Opera* 2 VII 1³⁸.

⁷ *Opera* 2 VII 1⁴⁵.

⁸ *Opera* 2 VII 1³⁷.

⁹ *Opera* 2 VII 1⁶⁵.

¹⁰ *Opera* 2 VII 1⁶⁵⁻⁶⁶.

¹¹ *Opera* 2 VII 1⁶⁶.

¹² 'Οὕτω μοι νόει καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων εὐσεβῶς τῶν φύσεων μίαν εἶναι τὴν φυσικὴν ἐκάστης οὐσίας περιεκτικωτάτην καὶ κυριωτάτην ἐνέργειαν, ἐξ ἧς ὥσπερ πηγαίας τινὸς καὶ γεννητικῆς ῥίζης προϊοῦσαι καθορῶνται καὶ αἱ μερικαὶ ταύτης, ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω, τῆς περιεκτικῆς καὶ οὐσιώδους ἐνεργείας ἐνέργειαι.' *Opera* 2 VII 1³³⁻³⁸; see also *Opera* 2 VII 2¹¹⁻²⁴.

¹³ 'Εὐρήσει ὁ συνετὸς καθ' ἑαυτὸν γυμνάζων πᾶσαν φύσιν ἔχουσαν ἐν ἑαυτῇ καὶ τὴν περιεκτικωτάτην αὐτῆς καὶ περιληπτικὴν ἐνέργειαν, καὶ πάλιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πηγαίᾳ τὰς κατὰ μέρος αὐτῆς ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἀποτικτομένας καὶ προϊούσας ἐνεργείας.' *Opera* 2 VII 1⁶²⁻⁶⁶.

burning power (καυστική δύναμις). At the same time, fire has other powers: it lights, warms up, revives, cleanses; it is directed up and cannot be touched.¹ Another example is that of the moon. The chief activity of the moon is shining. Among its secondary activities are moving, eclipsing, increasing and decreasing, causing tides, and changing the size of fishes and trees.² Remarkably, the secondary *energeiai* can be opposed to each other. For example, the *energeiai* of the earth can be both fertile and fruitless; they can both heal and cause diseases and even death.³

Following the same pattern, Anastasius distinguished between the single, chief, will of a nature and the multiplicity of secondary wills originating from the former.⁴ He called the chief will ‘comprehensive’ (περιεκτική θέλησις)⁵, ‘the most comprehensive’ (περιεκτικώτατον θέλημα)⁶, ‘the most general’ (γενικώτατον)⁷, and ‘the most important’ (κυριώτατον)¹. Concerning the divine

¹ ‘Οὐκοῦν ὥσπερ μία λέγεται ἀπόθου ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς φύσις καὶ ἐν αὐτῇς ὑπάρχει τὸ φυσικὸν περιεκτικὸν καὶ κύριον ἰδίωμα, τουτέστιν ἡ καυστικὴ δύναμις, ὁρῶνται δὲ λοιπὸν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ φυσικῇ ιδιότητι ὥσπερ παραφυάδες τινὲς καὶ ἕτεραι τοῦ πυρὸς ιδιότητες, τουτέστι τὸ φωτιστικόν, τὸ ἀνωφερές, τὸ ἀψηλάφητον, τὸ θερμαντικόν, τὸ ζωογονικόν, τὸ καθαριστικόν.’ *Opera* 2 VII 1²⁶⁻³³.

² See *Opera* 2 VI 1⁴⁰⁻⁵³.

³ *Opera* 2 VII 1⁷³⁻⁷⁶.

⁴ ‘Ἐκ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ περιεκτικωτάτου θελήματος διάφορα Θεοῦ θελήματα προελθόντα ἐγνώμεν.’ *Opera* 2 VII 1¹⁰¹⁻¹⁰²; see also *Opera* 2 VII 2¹¹⁻²⁴.

⁵ *Opera* 2 VII 1⁹⁷.

⁶ *Opera* 2 VII 1⁹⁹.

⁷ *Opera* 2 VII 1⁹⁸.

nature, its chief will was referred to by the Apostle Paul when he said: 'He wants all men to be saved and to come to knowledge of the truth' (1 Tim 2, 4).² Among the secondary wills of the divine nature, Anastasius distinguished the providential (προνοητικά)³, the spiritual (νοερά)⁴, teaching and correcting (παιδευτικά)⁵, ordering (προστακτικά)⁶, hortatory (παραινετικά)⁷, and consolatory wills (παρακλητικὰ θελήματα)⁸. These secondary wills were revealed many times in the history of salvation, as *e.g.* God's commandments to Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses and other prophets, and were finally manifested in the incarnation of the Logos.⁹

Anastasius inquired into other properties of will and provided several distinctions of this faculty. Thus, the will to him was a reaching out of the rational essence towards what it longs for (οὐσίας νοεράς καὶ λογικῆς ἔφεσις

¹ *Opera* 2 VII 1⁹⁸⁻⁹⁹.

² See: 'Θέλημα γενικώτατον καὶ κυριώτατον καὶ περιεκτικώτατον τῆς θείας φύσεως ἐπιστάμεθα τὸ 'θέλειν πάντας ἀνθρώπους σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν.' *Opera* 2 VII 1⁹⁸⁻¹⁰¹.

³ *Opera* 2 VII 1¹¹⁹⁻¹²⁰; see ps.-Dionysius, *deCael* 44.20, 49.7; *deDiv* 213.14.

⁴ *Opera* 2 VII 1¹²⁰; see ps.-Dionysius, *deDiv* 115.9, 116.15, 131.4 *etc.*

⁵ *Opera* 2 VII 1¹²¹.

⁶ *Opera* 2 VII 1¹²¹⁻¹²².

⁷ *Opera* 2 VII 1¹²².

⁸ *Opera* 2 VII 1¹²².

⁹ See *Opera* 2 VII 1¹⁰²⁻¹⁰⁹.

πρὸς τὸ καταθύμιον).¹ It is an intellectual aspiration of the immaterial essence (οὐσίας νοερᾶς νοερὰ ὄρεξις).² Etymologically, the will (θέ-λημα) signifies that the nature aspires (θέ-ειν) after what it longs for, or possesses whatever it wants.³ The will constitutes an integral faculty of the soul. Without its will, the soul would have neither the internal logos (λόγον ἐνδιάθετον), nor the mental capacities (νόησιν, διάνοιαν), the circumscribed and proceeding activity (περιγραπτὴν ἢ ἐκπορευτικὴν ἐνέργειαν), or the ability to move in space (τοπικὴν μετάστασιν).⁴ It would be deprived of such essential properties as desiring (ἐπιθυμητική), ruling (ἐξουσιαστική), cultivating (γεωργητική), thinking (ἐνθυμηματική), and the capacity to argue and know (σοφιστική).⁵ It would be irrational (ἄλογος) and ignorant (ἄγνοια).⁶

Following preceding theological and philosophical tradition, Anastasius closely linked the volitional and the mental faculties of the human soul. To him, whatever is intellectual is simultaneously volitional.⁷ Sometimes he added to this link the *energeia*. Thus, whatever the human nature of Christ performed, it

¹ *ViaeDux* II 4³⁻⁴.

² *ViaeDux* II 4¹⁸⁸.

³ *ViaeDux* II 4⁶⁻⁸.

⁴ *Opera* 2 III 4⁹⁷⁻¹⁰⁰.

⁵ *Opera* 2 X 1¹³⁻¹⁵.

⁶ *Opera* 2 III 5¹¹⁰.

⁷ 'Τὸ νοερὸν καὶ λογιστικὸν ἦτοι βουλευτικὸν καὶ θελητικόν.' *Opera* 2 III 2⁹⁻¹⁰; see also: 'Πᾶν γὰρ νοερὸν πρόδηλον ὅτι καὶ θελητικόν.' *ViaeDux* II 4⁴⁻⁵.

did 'with a true, rational, volitional, and energetic feeling.'¹ This means that Christ acted always with the participation of his intellect and his will. Anastasius also linked the will to the desiring capacity of the soul, as well as to love. The love that Anastasius implied included a wide range of the meanings expressed by the words πόθος, ἐπιθυμία, ἀγάπη, and ἔρως.²

Following preceding tradition, Anastasius drew a distinction between three types of will, according to its relation to nature. These were divine, human, and fleshy wills. The divine will transcends the laws of human nature (ὑπὲρ φύσιν). The human will accords with the laws of the nature (κατὰ φύσιν). Finally, the fleshy will is contrary to the laws of the nature (παρὰ φύσιν).³ Anastasius thoroughly analysed the notion of will in the context of its relation to the nature, and the outcome of this analysis can be summarized in the following table:

¹ '὘ν αἰσθήσει ἀληθεί, λογιστικῇ καὶ θελιτικῇ καὶ ἐνεργητικῇ.' *Opera* 2 VI 3³⁶⁻³⁷.

² *Opera* 2 III 4⁴⁹⁻⁵⁰.

³ *Opera* 2 V¹⁴.

| divine will | natural human will | fleshy will |
|--|---|--|
| <p>This will is uncreated (ἄκτιστον θέλημα)¹, ruling (δεσποτικόν), and permitting (ἐπιτρεπτικόν).² It transcends the laws of the nature (τὸ ὑπὲρ φύσιν).³ It is ceaseless (οὐ παυομένη)⁴ and neither motionless (οὐ ἡρεμούσα), nor silent (οὐ σιγῶσα).⁵ It is unchangeable (οὐκ ἀλλοιουμένη)⁶, not subjected to the time, body, life, or death (οὐχ ὑπὸ χρόνου, οὐ διὰ σώματος, οὐ διὰ ζωῆς, οὐ διὰ θανάτου).⁷ It is good, pleasing, and perfect (ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον καὶ τέλειον θέλημα).⁸ It belongs not only to God,</p> | <p>This will is an immaterial movement of the desiring part of the soul, being performed in accordance with the laws of the nature and impelling man towards the desired (κίνησις νοερά τοῦ ἐπιθυμητικοῦ μέρους τῆς ψυχῆς κατὰ φύσιν πρὸς τὸ ποθούμενον συνωθοῦσα τὸν ἄνθρωπον).¹⁴ It belongs to the men's rational soul (τῆς λογικῆς ἡμῶν ψυχῆς θέλημα).¹⁵ It is rational, wishing, and essential (τῆς ψυχῆς λογιστικὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμητικὸν οὐσιῶδες θέλημα)¹⁶, as well as volitional and mental (θέλησις λογιστική,</p> | <p>This will, unlike the natural one, is not created by God and does not function according to the image and likeness of God²⁹, but is contrary to the laws of the human nature (τὸ παρὰ φύσιν)³⁰. It is diabolic and material (σαρκικὸν ἡγουν διαβολικὸν καὶ ὕλικὸν θέλημα)³¹, alien and evil (ἐπείσακτον καὶ πονηρόν)³². It bends men, makes them defiled and mired (ὑπὸ τοῦ σαρκικοῦ θελήματος κατακαμπτόμενοι καὶ μολυνόμενοι καὶ βορβορούμενοι)³³, forces them to live according to the flesh.³⁴ Adultery³⁵, misuse of God's gifts³⁶, and</p> |

| | | |
|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| but to man too. It is | βουλευτική, διανοητική) ¹⁷ . | dishonouring the parents |
| inherent in the human | It can be called 'a volitional | are among its fruits. ³⁷ |
| nature as a spiritual | and desiring property and | |
| aspiration after the things | a power' (θελητική καὶ | |
| that transcend the nature | ἐπιθυμητική ἕξις καὶ | |
| (παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἢ τῆς | δύναμις). ¹⁸ It was created | |
| ἐμφύτου νοεράς ὀρέξεως | and given to men by God | |
| πρὸς τὸ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐκ | (θεόκτιστον καὶ | |
| τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν ἔπειξις). ⁹ | θεόσδοτον). ¹⁹ It originates | |
| It is in the possession of | from God's breath. ²⁰ It was | |
| those who despise the | planted in men by God | |
| temporary life. Such were | (θεόφυτον). ²¹ It functions | |
| the Christian martyrs. ¹⁰ | according to the image and | |
| Virginit ¹¹ and disregard | likeness of God (κατ' | |
| of all earthy things ¹² , | εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ | |
| including one's parents | ὑπάρχουσα) ²² , and in | |
| and relatives ¹³ , are among | accordance with the laws | |
| the fruits of the divine will. | of the human nature (τὸ | |
| | κατὰ φύσιν) ²³ . It is | |
| | blameless (ἄμωμος καὶ | |
| | ἀδιάβλητος). ²⁴ It is | |
| | subordinate | |
| | (ὑποτακτικόν) and | |
| | obedient (ὑπακουστικόν) | |

to the divine will.²⁵ It seeks
after the married life²⁶ and
aspires after the goods of
the present age.²⁷ The men,
who follow this will, love
their parents and
relatives.²⁸

¹ *Opera* 2 III 2³⁴.

² *Opera* 2 III 6⁷².

³ *Opera* 2 V⁴.

⁴ *Opera* 2 X 1²².

⁵ *Opera* 2 X 1²²⁻²³.

⁶ *Opera* 2 X 1²³.

⁷ *Opera* 2 X 1²³⁻²⁴.

⁸ *Opera* 2 V⁵¹⁻⁵⁶.

⁹ *ViaeDux* II 4¹⁷⁻¹⁸.

¹⁰ 'Τὸ δὲ καταφρονεῖν πάλιν τῆς ἐνθάδε ζωῆς, καθὰ καὶ οἱ μάρτυρες ἐποίησαν, τοῦτο θεῖκόν καὶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν θέλημα.' *Opera* 2 V³⁰⁻³².

¹¹ 'Υπὲρ φύσιν δὲ θεῖκόν θέλημα, ἡ παρθενία.' *Opera* 2 V⁴⁰⁻⁴¹.

¹² 'Θεῖκόν δὲ θέλημα τὸ καταφρονεῖν διὰ Θεὸν πάντων τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν.' *Opera* 2 V⁴⁷⁻⁴⁸.

¹³ 'Τὸ δὲ διὰ Θεὸν ἀρνεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου φωνὴν τὴν λέγουσαν ὅτι "Εἴ τις οὐκ ἀφῇ πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καὶ τέκνα καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ ὀπίσω μου, οὐκ ἔστι μου ἄξιος," τοῦτο ὡς ἀληθῶς θεῖον καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον καὶ τέλειον θέλημα.' *Opera* 2 V⁵¹⁻⁵⁶.

¹⁴ *ViaeDux* II 4¹⁴⁻¹⁶.

¹⁵ *Opera* 2 III 2³⁵⁻³⁶.

¹⁶ *Opera* 2 III 2⁶¹⁻⁶²; see also *Opera* 2 III 2⁷⁴: 'θέλησις λογιστική.'

¹⁷ *Opera* 2 III 3²⁹⁻³⁰. In another passage Anastasius clearly identifies the volitional and mental faculties of human soul: 'Τὸ νοερόν καὶ λογιστικὸν ἦτοι βουλευτικὸν καὶ θελητικόν.' *Opera* 2 III 4⁹⁻¹¹.

¹⁸ *Opera* 2 VII 1⁹⁴⁻⁹⁵.

¹⁹ *Opera* 2 III 2³⁵.

²⁰ 'Οὐκοῦν εἰ ἐκ στόματος καὶ πνοῆς Θεοῦ προῆλθεν ἡ ψυχὴ, ἐκ πνοῆς Θεοῦ προῆλθον καὶ συμπροῆλθον πάντα τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς οὐσιώδη ιδιώματα, τουτέστι τὸ λογιστικόν, τὸ νοερόν, τὸ θελητικόν, τὸ ἐνεργητικόν, τὸ ζωοποιό.' *Opera* 2 III 4¹⁻⁴.

²¹ *Opera* 2 III 2⁶¹.

²² *Opera* 2 III 2⁵²⁻⁵³; see also *Opera* 2 III 2⁷⁴⁻⁷⁷.

²³ *Opera* 2 V³⁻⁴.

²⁴ *Opera* 2 III 2⁵³.

²⁵ *Opera* 2 III 6⁷⁶.

²⁶ 'Κατὰ φύσιν φυσικὸν θέλημα, ὁ γάμος.' *Opera* 2 V³⁹.

²⁷ 'Πάλιν τε κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶ τὸ θέλειν τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῶν παρόντων.' *Opera* 2 V⁴⁴⁻⁴⁵.

²⁸ 'Καὶ τὸ τιμᾶν δὲ πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τοὺς συγγενεῖς φυσικὸν ἐστὶν καὶ ἀδιάβλητον θέλημα.' *Opera* 2 V⁴⁹⁻⁵⁰.

²⁹ 'Οὐκοῦν ὅτε ἀκούσης τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἢ ἐτέρου τινὸς τῶν πατέρων λέγοντος ὅτι ἠφάνισεν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ σαρκικὸν θέλημα καὶ κατήργησε τὰ ἀνθρώπινα θελήματα, καὶ χωρὶς ἀνθρωπίνων λογισμῶν καὶ σαρκικῶν θελημάτων ὑπῆρχε, καὶ ὅτι παρητήσατο τὴν σαρκικὴν ἐνέργειαν, γνῶθι ἀκριβῶς ὅτι οὐ τὴν κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν αὐτοῦ θέλησίν τε καὶ ἐνέργειαν τῆς νοερᾶς ψυχῆς τῆς ἐκ τοῦ ἀχράντου καὶ ἀσωμάτου αὐτοῦ στόματος προελθούσης ἠφάνισεν ἢ ἐξήλειψεν ἢ κατήργησεν· ἐπεὶ εὗρεθήσεται τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεννηθέντα καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ προελθόντα καταλύων καὶ ἀφανίζων καὶ ἀνατρέπων ὡς πονηρὰ καὶ ἀσύμφωνα καὶ ἀντίδικα αὐτοῦ.' *Opera* 2 III 5¹²⁵⁻¹³⁶.

³⁰ *Opera* 2 V⁴.

³¹ *Opera* 2 III 2³⁷⁻³⁸; see also *Opera* 2 III 5¹³⁹.

³² *Opera* 2 III 2⁵⁹⁻⁶⁰.

³³ *Opera* 2 III 2⁵⁷⁻⁵⁹.

³⁴ 'Τὸ σαρκικῶς ζῆν.' *Opera* 2 V²⁸.

³⁵ 'Παρὰ φύσιν δὲ σαρκικὸν θέλημα, ἢ πορνεία.' *Opera* 2 V³⁹⁻⁴⁰.

³⁶ 'Σαρκικὸν δὲ θέλημά ἐστι τὸ κακῶς κεχρηῆσθαι ταῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ δωρεαῖς.' *Opera* 2 V⁴⁵⁻⁴⁶.

³⁷ 'Τὸ δὲ τούτος ἀτιμάζειν σαρκικὸν καὶ πονηρὸν ἐστι θέλημα.' *Opera* 2 V⁵⁰⁻⁵¹.

Anastasius applied the same distinctions to the *energeiai* and classified them in divine, natural, and fleshy:

| divine <i>energeia</i> | natural human <i>energeia</i> | fleshy <i>energeia</i> |
|--|--|---|
| <p>This <i>energeia</i> is</p> <p>uncircumscribed</p> <p>(ἀπερίγραπτος)¹ and</p> <p>unchangeable</p> <p>(ἀναλλοίωτος²,</p> <p>ἄτρεπτος³). It is spread</p> <p>everywhere throughout the</p> <p>world (παγκόσμιος⁴,</p> <p>παντίτοπος⁵, ἢ τὸν</p> <p>κόσμον πληροῦσα καὶ</p> <p>παντὸς ὑπάρχουσα τοῦ</p> <p>Θεοῦ Λόγου ἐνέργεια⁶,</p> <p>παντὶ ἐνεργεῖ⁷) and</p> <p>simultaneously transcends</p> <p>the world (ὑπερκόσμιος).⁸</p> <p>It is uncreated⁹, immortal¹⁰,</p> <p>providential (προνοητική),</p> <p>creative (δημιουργική),</p> <p>inexhaustible</p> | <p>This <i>energeia</i> was created</p> <p>(θεόκτιστος)¹² and given</p> <p>(θεόσδοτος)¹³ by God.</p> <p>Alike the natural human</p> <p>will, it originates from</p> <p>God's breath¹⁴ and</p> <p>therefore is 'θεήπνους'¹⁵. It</p> <p>functions according to the</p> <p>image and likeness of God</p> <p>(κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν</p> <p>Θεοῦ ὑπάρχουσα)¹⁶ and in</p> <p>result is similar to the</p> <p><i>energeia</i> of God</p> <p>(θεόμοιος).¹⁷ In contrast to</p> <p>the divine <i>energeia</i>, it is</p> <p>changeable. For instance, it</p> <p>changes from the state of</p> <p>the corruptedness into the</p> <p>state of the</p> | <p>This <i>energeia</i> is disposed</p> <p>against the nature (παρὰ</p> <p>φύσιν ἐνέργεια)²⁶ and is</p> <p>'satanic' (σατανική)²⁷. It is</p> <p>external and foreign to the</p> <p>human nature</p> <p>(ἐπείσακτος).²⁸ It has</p> <p>simultaneously an active</p> <p>and a passive aspect. In its</p> <p>active aspect, it is a</p> <p>passionate activity of the</p> <p>sin (ἡ ἐμπαθὴς τῆς</p> <p>ἀμαρτίας ἐνέργεια).²⁹ In</p> <p>its passive aspect, it is</p> <p>affected and moved by the</p> <p><i>energeia</i> of devil.³⁰</p> |

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| (ἀνέκλειπτος), immaterial | incorruptedness. ¹⁸ It is able |
| (νοερά), holy (ἱερά), steady | to suffer and to be |
| (ἀκλινής), penetrating | submitted to the external |
| through (διεξοδευτική), | activities (παθητή). ¹⁹ It is |
| never-ending | blameless (ἄμωμος καὶ |
| (ἀτελεύτητος), having as | ἀδιάβλητος) ²⁰ and |
| its source God who rules | vivifying (ζωοποιός). ²¹ It |
| through it the world | keeps the body in life and |
| (θεαρχική), principal | brings somatic components |
| (πρώτη), middle (μέση), | together (ζωτικὴ καὶ |
| and last (τελευταία). ¹¹ | συστατικὴ τοῦ σώματος |
| | ἐνέργεια). ²² It is an agent, |
| | through which the Logos |
| | kept together, vivified and |
| | made grow (συνεκράτει |
| | καὶ ἐζωοποιεῖ καὶ ἡϋξει) |
| | his body. ²³ It is limited in |
| | the space ²⁴ and therefore |
| | circumscribed |
| | (περιγραπτός) ²⁵ . |

¹ *Opera* 2 VI 2³³; see also *Opera* 2 VII 3⁹¹.

² *Opera* 2 VII 3⁸⁶⁻⁸⁷; see also *Opera* 2 VIII 3¹²⁻¹⁷; *Opera* 2 IX 1¹⁰⁰⁻¹⁰⁴.

³ *Opera* 2 IX 1⁶¹.

⁴ *Opera* 2 III 3⁵⁷.

⁵ *Opera* 2 VI 2³³.

⁶ *Opera* 2 VI 2²⁶⁻²⁸.

⁷ *Opera* 2 VI 2³⁵.

⁸ *Opera* 2 III 3⁵⁷.

⁹ See *Opera* 2 VI 3².

¹⁰ *Opera* 2 IX 1⁶².

¹¹ *Opera* 2 IX 3³³⁻³⁵.

¹² *Opera* 2 III 2⁵²; see also *Opera* 2 VI 3².

¹³ *Opera* 2 III 3³⁴.

¹⁴ 'Οὐκοῦν εἰ ἐκ στόματος καὶ πνοῆς Θεοῦ προήλθεν ἡ ψυχὴ, ἐκ πνοῆς Θεοῦ προήλθον καὶ συμπροήλθον πάντα τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς οὐσιώδη ἰδιώματα, τουτέστι τὸ λογιστικόν, τὸ νοερόν, τὸ θελητικόν, τὸ ἐνεργητικόν, τὸ ζωοποιό.' *Opera* 2 III 4¹⁻⁴.

¹⁵ *Opera* 2 III 4⁷¹.

¹⁶ *Opera* 2 III 2⁵²⁻⁵³; see also *Opera* 2 III 2⁷⁴⁻⁷⁷.

¹⁷ *Opera* 2 III 4⁶⁹.

¹⁸ *Opera* 2 VII 3⁸⁹⁻⁹⁰.

¹⁹ *Opera* 2 IX 1⁵⁴.

²⁰ *Opera* 2 III 2⁵³.

²¹ *Opera* 2 III 2⁶⁶; III 3³³.

²² *Opera* 2 III 2⁶²⁻⁶³; see also *Opera* 2 III 3³³.

²³ *Opera* 2 III 3³³⁻³⁶.

²⁴ See *Opera* 2 VI 2²⁵⁻²⁶: 'Τῆς γὰρ φύσεως καὶ ἐνεργείας τῆς ἀγίας αὐτοῦ σαρκὸς ἐν μόνῃ τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ διατριβούσης.'

²⁵ See *Opera* 2 VI 2³⁶.

²⁶ *Opera 2* III 2⁶⁰.

²⁷ *Opera 2* III 5¹³⁹.

²⁸ *Opera 2* X 4³⁰.

²⁹ *Opera 2*, III 2⁵¹.

³⁰ *Opera 2* III 2⁵⁵⁻⁵⁷.

Anastasius touched on the notion of the gnostic will, which signified to him a particular choice of man:

There are many gnostic wills in our nature, for one man wants to be different from others (ἰδιάζειν), one wishes to build, another to cultivate the land, another to sail, and so on.¹

The Sinaita opposed the gnostic wills to the natural will. To him, there were many gnostic wills in human nature, but only one natural will. The former was particular, whereas the latter common to all beings that share the same nature.

Both the natural *energeia* and the natural will have many things in common. For instance, they originate from the same breath of God.² Moreover, Anastasius sometimes appeared to consider them as a single thing, as in the following passage in which Christ was described as having a rest 'according to his will' and sleeping 'according to his *energeia*':

When you see him 'sitting after his journey,' 'being tired' (John 4, 6), and having a rest, do not be frightened to say that he deliberately refreshed himself (by having a sit), according to the will of the tired body (κατὰ τὴν ἀναπαυστικὴν τοῦ κεκοπιακότος σώματος θέλησιν). And when you see him 'sleeping on the cushion' (Mark 4, 38), do not refuse to say that he deliberately slept according to the *energeia* of the body (κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐνέργειαν).³

By mixing the notions, Anastasius apparently intended to underline that the terms 'will' and '*energeia*' express the same reality. This reality is the property of the nature. In other words, both *energeia* and will are the properties

¹ *ViaeDux* II 4⁶³⁻⁶⁵.

² *Opera* 2 III 4¹⁻⁴.

³ *Opera* 2 V⁶⁹⁻⁷⁴.

of the nature. Sometimes, in result, Anastasius called them 'volitional' (θελητικόν) and 'energetical' (ἐνεργητικόν) properties of the soul.¹ He also spoke of a volitional power (θελητικὴ δύναμις) and an essential and vivifying *energeia* (οὐσιώδης, ζωτική, ζωοποιὸς ἐνέργεια) as rational properties (λογικαὶ ιδιότητες) of men.² To him, the human will and *energeia* were the heavenly (οὐράνιαι) properties (ιδιώτητες) of the soul, which were given by God (θεοπρόβλητοι).³

The property of the nature is all-comprehensive (περιεκτικωπάτη).⁴ This means that it embraces the *energeia* and will, along with the other faculties and properties of the nature. In the case of the divine nature, for example, it is omnipotence and incircumscribability⁵, whereas in the case of the humanity of Christ, it is createdness and purity⁶.

Anastasius extended the characteristics of the natures into the natural wills and *energeiai*. For instance, because Christ's divine nature is omnipresent

¹ *Opera* 2 III 4⁴.

² *Opera* 2 VII 3³⁹⁻⁴¹.

³ *Opera* 2 X 5³⁰.

⁴ See *Opera* 2 VII 2^{13, 18}.

⁵ Christ has 'κατὰ τὴν θεότητα τὴν περιεκτικωπάτην τῆς θείας φύσεως θελητικὴν τε καὶ ἐνεργητικὴν παντοδύναμον καὶ ἀπερίγραφτον ἕξιν τῆς οὐσιώδους θελήσεως καὶ ἐνεργείας.' *Opera* 2 VII 2¹²⁻¹⁵.

⁶ 'Ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἡνωμένης αὐτῷ ἀνθρωπότητος τὴν περιεκτικὴν ἡμῶν τῆς νοερᾶς ψυχῆς ἕξιν τε καὶ δύναμιν θελητικὴν τὴν θεόκτιστον καὶ καθαρὰν ἀνθρώπινον ὀνομάζομεν ἐν Χριστῷ θέλημα. *Opera* 2, VII 2, 17-20. See also: Christ κατεδέξατο μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν θεοκτίστων ιδιωμάτων καὶ τὸ θεόφυτον τῆς ψυχῆς θέλημα.' *Opera* 2 VI 3⁹²⁻⁹⁴.

and uncircumscribed (παγκόσμιος καὶ ἀπερίγραπτος), the divine activities are also omnipresent and uncircumscribed. Similarly, because Christ's humanity is circumscribed and limited within the *topos*, so are the human *energeiai*.¹ As the human nature of Christ is consubstantial with our nature, so his powers (δυνάμεις) and characteristic properties (ἕξεις) are consubstantial with ours.² It is also possible to put things *vice versa* and to suggest that the properties of the will and *energeia* are applicable to their nature: 'Whatever is the will, such is always the nature, and whatever is the essential *energeia*, such is the essence.'³

The will and *energeia* are not only essential elements of the nature, but also its decoration.⁴ The nature owes to the will and *energeia* all its value, honour, and beauty. Owing to the will and *energeia*, man differs from the animals⁵, receives enlightenment from God⁶, and obtains divine and human knowledge⁷. Man's deification is possible thanks to the will and *energeia*.⁸ They

¹ See *Opera* 2 VI 231-50.

² 'Οὐκοῦν ὡς κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς ὁμοούσιος ἡμῶν οὐσα ἡ ἀχραντος ψυχὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁμοουσίους ἡμῖν καὶ ἀνελλιπεῖς καὶ τὰς οἰκείας δυνάμεις καὶ ἕξεις ἐκέκτητο.' *Opera* 2 VI 333-36. See also: 'Σῶμα τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνέλαβεν ὁ Χριστὸς ἡ ἀνθρωπίνην σάρκα ἡ ἐνέργειαν ἡ θέλημα ἡ ιδιότητα παντοῖαν ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν.' *ViaeDux* XIV 227-29.

³ 'Οἷα ἡ θέλησις, τοιαύτη πάντως καὶ ἡ φύσις· καὶ οἷα ἡ οὐσιώδης ἐνέργεια, τοιαύτη δηλονότι καὶ ἡ οὐσία.' *Opera* 2 X 1¹⁻².

⁴ 'Κατακοσμοῦσαι ... τὸν ἐντὸς ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν ἐκτὸς ἄνθρωπον.' *Opera* 2 X 526-27.

⁵ 'Διὰ τούτων τῆς ἀλόγου χωριζόμεθα οὐσίας.' *Opera* 2 X 533.

⁶ 'Διὰ τούτων τῆς θείας ἀπολαύομεν ἐλλάμψεως.' *Opera* 2 X 533-34.

⁷ 'Διὰ τούτων θείαν καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην γνῶσιν προσλαμβάνόμεθα.' *Opera* 2 X 534-35.

⁸ 'Διὰ τούτων θεοὶ καὶ υἱοὶ ὑψίστου ἀναδεικνύμεθα.' *Opera* 2 X 535-36.

make him a king and a master of creation, who enjoys the honour of God.¹ Owing to them, the soul has its specific character, form, and beauty², and rejoices even after having separated from the body.³ In the future life, the soul will worship God through the will and *energeia*.⁴ Also after the resurrection, people will follow divine commandments and enjoy spiritual progress through their wills and *energeiai*.⁵

Although consubstantial with the human *energeia* of Christ and enjoying the divine honour and glory, the *energeia* of ordinary men is not identical with that of Christ.⁶ The main difference between them is that the human activities are not free, but subject to the necessity of nature. The activities of Christ, on the other hand, are free.⁷

¹ 'Διὰ τούτων τὸ βασιλικὸν καὶ ἐξουσιαστικὸν καὶ θεοτίμητον ἡμῶν γνωρίζεται ἀξίωμα.' *Opera* 2 X 5³⁶⁻³⁷.

² 'Διὰ τούτων ὁ ἀχαρακτήριστος αὐτῆς (= ψυχῆς) χαρακτήρ καὶ μορφή καὶ τὸ ὑπέρκαλον κάλλος καλλωπίζεται.' *Opera* 2 X 5³⁹⁻⁴⁰.

³ 'Διὰ τούτων καὶ χωριζομένη τοῦ σώματος ἡ πνευματοφόρος ψυχὴ ἀγάλλεται καὶ εὐφραίνεται.' *Opera* 2 X 5⁴⁰⁻⁴².

⁴ 'Τεραίνει Θεὸν διὰ τῆς νοερᾶς αὐτῆς καὶ ἀφθάρτου καὶ ἀνεξαλείπτου πνευματικῆς θελήσεως καὶ θεαρέστου καὶ ἀειζῶου καὶ θεοζῶου ζωοποιοῦ ἐνεργείας.' *Opera* 2 X 5⁴⁶⁻⁴⁸.

⁵ 'Θέλει καὶ ἐνεργεῖ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἡ ψυχὴ τὰ θεῖα προστάγματα, καὶ προκοπὰς αἰώνιους καὶ ἀναβάσεις ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τίθεται.' *Opera* 2 X 5⁵⁰⁻⁵².

⁶ 'Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ὀργὴν ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀγωνίαν ἡ ἀγωνία αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἀνθρωπίνως γινόμενα ἢ λεγόμενα εἰς αὐτόν.' *Opera* 2 VI 3⁵⁸⁻⁶¹.

⁷ 'Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑποκείμεθα ταῖς φυσικαῖς ἀνάγκαις τοῦ σώματος· ὁ δὲ Χριστός, Θεὸς καὶ δεσπότης καὶ ποιητὴς τῆς φύσεως ὧν, ὅτε ἠβούλετο, καθὼς ἠβούλετο, ἐχαλιναγώγει τὰ τῆς φύσεως.' *Opera* 2 VI 3⁶²⁻⁶⁵.

Anastasius inquired into the relations between not only the notions of *energeia*, will, and nature, but between them and the acting and willing subject, *i.e.* the hypostasis. To him, the ultimate subject of all activities is the person of Christ who acts and determines how the nature should act. The Logos provides the soul with the rules, according to which it must act. The soul, therefore, is also a source or ‘subject’ of the *energeiai*. However, in contrast to the Logos, it is not independent in its activities, but acts according to the rules given by the Logos. It is rather a mediator between the Logos and the body.¹ To be a mediator, however, meant to Anastasius to be able to will and act humanly.² Therefore, the soul must have its own will and *energeia*. There is also a mediator between the soul and the *energeia* – the will. For example, such human *energeiai* as sorrow (λύπη) and trouble (ἀδημονία) would be impossible without the participation of the human will. Anastasius found one more mediator of the Logos – the flesh (σάρξ). He opposed it to the ‘divine flesh’ (θεοσάρξ) – the word he coined in imitation of Dionysius. With reference to Athanasius’ *Against Arians*, Anastasius suggested that sometimes Christ acted through his ‘divine flesh’ (θεοσαρκί), and sometimes simply through the flesh (σαρκί).³ This

¹ ‘Διὰ δὲ πάλιν τῆς ζωτικῆς καὶ ζωοποιου θεοσδότου αὐτῆς, λέγω δὴ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς νοεράς, ἐνεργείας συνεκράτει καὶ ἐζωοποιεῖ καὶ ἡῤῥξει τὸ οἰκεῖον σῶμα ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος κατὰ τὸν ὅρον καὶ λόγον ὃν δέδωκε τῇ λογικῇ ψυχῇ ζωοποιεῖν καὶ συγκρατεῖν καὶ αὖξειν καὶ κινεῖν τὴν τῶν σωμάτων φύσιν.’ *Opera* 2 III 333-38; see also *Opera* 2 VII 221-24; VIII 364-68.

² ‘Εἰ οὖν ἀθελής ἐστι καὶ ἀνενέργητος (= the human soul of Christ), πῶς δύναται μεσιτεύειν; Τὸ γὰρ μεσιτεῦον δηλονότι βουλευτικῶς καὶ ἐνεργητικῶς μεσιτεύει.’ *Opera* 2 VI 326-28.

³ ‘Λαβὼν (= Athanasius) γὰρ ὡς θεόφρων καὶ κορυφαῖος ὀρθοδοξίας παρὰ Πέτρου τοῦ κορυφαίου τῆς εὐσεβείας τὰ σπέρματα τοῦ “Χριστοῦ παθόντος σαρκί” (1 Pet 4, 1), οὕτω καὶ

signified to him that along with his theandric *energeiai*, Christ had purely human ones – Anastasius’ favourite argument in support of the two *energeiai*.

5.3.3. THEANDRIC ENERGEIA

Anastasius had no doubts about the orthodoxy of Dionysius. He called him a ‘teacher’ (διδάσκαλος)¹ or a ‘divine teacher’ (θεῖος διδάσκαλος², θεσπέσιος³). He not only accepted Dionysius’ conception of the ‘theandric *energeia*,’ but also developed it further. He applied the term ‘theandric’ to whatever exists in the two natures of Christ.⁴ In particular, he characterized the two wills of Christ as theandric. He blamed the Monothelites for they ‘say that Christ’s will is not theandric, common (κοινόν), mixed (μικτόν), or composed (σύνθετον), but simple (ἀπλοῦν), unmixed (ἀμιγές), and foreign to any participation (ἀκοινωνήτον).’⁵

Christ for Anastasius was theandric in two senses: as a single person and as one who exists in two natures. In the former sense, he is theandric entirely,

“Χριστοῦ πεινάσαντος σαρκί,” καὶ “Χριστοῦ διψήσαντος σαρκί,” καὶ “Χριστοῦ ὑπνώσαντος σαρκί,” καὶ “Χριστοῦ δακρύσαντος σαρκί,” καὶ “Χριστοῦ προσευχομένου σαρκί,” καὶ “Χριστοῦ κοπιάσαντος σαρκί.” *Opera* 2 VIII 5⁴⁻¹²; compare Athanasius, *contArian* 26.396¹⁰⁻²⁹; *contArian* 26.433³⁸-26.433³⁹.

¹ *Opera* 2 VIII 1¹⁰.

² *Opera* 2 VIII 2¹.

³ *Opera* 2 IX 3⁴.

⁴ ‘Θεανδρικὸν γὰρ τὸ ἐν ταῖς δύο αὐτοῦ φύσεσιν ὑπάρχον λέγεται.’ *Opera* 2 VIII 3⁶⁴⁻⁶⁵.

⁵ *Opera* 2 X 1⁸⁻¹¹.

whereas in the latter sense only partly, *i.e.* some of his faculties are theandric and some are not. The Sinaita drew this distinction by applying the adjective 'theandric' in different grammatical genders. In the former sense, he used the masculine – θεανδρικός, whereas in the latter sense the neuter – θεανδρικά¹, apparently by analogy with the distinction of ἄλλος and ἄλλο. He considered the issue of the 'theandric *energeiai*' in the context of the partly theandric Christ and followed the concept of the 'mixed *energeiai*' introduced by Sophronius. Anastasius called these *energeiai* 'mixed' (μικτάι).² To him, this sort of *energeiai* was different from purely human and purely divine ones. To underline this, he laid stress on the word 'new' (καινή) in the Dionysian formula. This word meant for the Sinaita that the 'theandric *energeia*' is foreign (ξένη), astonishing (θαυμαστή), wonderful (παράδοξος)³, and transcending humanity.⁴ Anastasius emphasised that Dionysius applied the term 'theandric' not to all the human activities of Christ, but only to those which transcend ordinary human activities.⁵ Anastasius added some synonymous expressions to the formula of 'theandric *energeia*'. Thus, Christ to him acted 'theandrically,' 'commonly,'

¹ 'Διατοῦτο οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐ θεανδρικὰ λέγομεν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰ καὶ θεανδρικός ἦν, ἀδιαίρετος ἐν ἐκάστῳ πράγματι.' *Opera* 2 VIII 4⁹⁻¹¹.

² *Opera* 2 IX 3¹³.

³ *Opera* 2 IX 3¹².

⁴ See *Opera* 2 VIII 1¹⁵. Anastasius quoted Dionysius *verbatim*: 'Υπὲρ ἀνθρώπων ἐνεργεῖν τὰ ἀνθρώπου.' *ep.* 4, PG 3, 1072^b.

⁵ See *Opera* 2 VIII 1¹⁵⁻²¹.

‘composedly’ (θεανδρικῶς, κοινῶς, συνθέτως)¹, and ‘commonly according to his personal wholeness’ (κοινῶς κατὰ τὴν προσωπικὴν αὐτοῦ ὁλότητα)². He also used the word ‘θεοσάρξ’ in the form of an adverb, θεοσαρκί, as a synonym to the word ‘θεανδρικός.’³

Anastasius distinguished between the single Christ as an ultimate subject of all activities, and his natures as their intermediary subjects. He used the activities as adjectives when referred to the natures, and as adverbs when referred to the hypostasis. Therefore, by saying that Christ acted ‘theandrically,’ ‘commonly,’ and ‘composedly,’ he implied that **the same Christ** acted as man and God.

Although Anastasius shared with the Monenergists the belief that Christ had theandric activities, the difference between them consisted in whether all the *energeiai* are theandric. Anastasius accepted that only some *energeiai* of Christ are theandric, while others are either purely divine, or purely human. At the same time for the Monenergists, as he believed, all the *energeiai* of Christ were theandric:

The new disciples of the ancient Manichaeans and Severans in a wrong and Manichaean way interpret and say that ‘Everything that Christ spoke or did after the unity is theandric, common to his divinity and humanity, and happens according to the theandric *energeia*. It is apparent that they (= the actions)

¹ *Opera* 2 VI 2¹⁷⁻¹⁸; see also *Opera* 2 IX 3¹²⁻¹⁴: ‘Τὴν θεανδρικὴν’ τουτέστι ... τὴν κοινῶς διὰ τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἐν τῷ ᾧμα πραττομένην.’

² *ViaeDux* XIII 5¹¹⁸⁻¹¹⁹.

³ ‘Τὸ δὲ “θεοσαρκί” ὅμοιόν ἐστι τοῦ θεανδρικοῦ, ὅπερ τὰς δύο τοῦ Χριστοῦ σημαίνει φύσεις.’ *Opera* 2 VIII 4¹³⁻¹⁶.

should be attributed commonly to his divinity and humanity, since the divine *energeia* of God Logos prevailed and turned whatever belongs to the flesh into the divine *energeia*, because what is stronger (= the divinity) gains the upper hand over the flesh.¹

This passage consists of two parts, which seem to be mutually contradictory. Thus, the first states that the Monenergists believed that all the activities of Christ are theandric. The second, however, implies that the human *energeia*, for the Monenergists, has vanished and turned into divine *energeia*. This contradiction, however, should not be explained by inaccuracy on the part of Anastasius, who actually referred, though only briefly, to two different kinds of Monenergism: Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian.

5.3.4. ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF TWO *ENERGEIAI*

Anastasius followed two different approaches in support of the concept of two *energeiai* in Christ. The first was a traditional one, and consisted in persuading his opponents by means of logical arguments designed in accordance with the rules of the theological polemics of that time. The second was artistic rather than logical. In its context, Anastasius preferred beautiful illustrations of the conceptions, which were to be proved, rather than irrefutable proofs. They were designed to catch the attention of readers through their rhetorical beauty and addressed to those who 'have ears to hear.'² These

¹ *Opera* 2 VIII 3¹⁻¹⁰.

² See *Opera* 2 X 5⁶⁴⁻⁶⁵.

arguments had the persuasiveness of art rather than of mathematics. Anastasius apparently preferred such 'artistic' arguments. Hence the considerable number of inaccuracies in his arguments and especially in his quotations. But he did not care too much about accuracy. If he had a choice between the rhetorical beauty of an argument and its logical consistency, he could prefer the former.

Being so concerned about the 'aesthetic' aspect of his arguments, he tried to be an artist even in his strictly polemical approach and avoided the well-trodden paths. He was innovative in his arguments and did not hesitate to introduce neologisms such as the words 'ψυχανδρικός' or 'σωματοψύχος'.¹ Even such a 'routine' task as classification of the activities, was accomplished by Anastasius in a specific way, as will be shown in the following chapter.

5.3.4.1. DIVERSITY OF ACTIVITIES

The spectrum of Christ's activities considered by Anastasius was manifold, though not set out in a systematic way. The only systematization that Anastasius applied consisted in putting the similar kinds of activities together, without further explanation. Anastasius considered there to be three kinds of activities in Christ: mixed theandric, purely divine and purely human. His aim was to show that along with the mixed activities, Christ had 'pure' ones associated exclusively with either the divine or human nature. By this means,

¹ See *Opera* 2 III 3⁵².

he sought to prove the theandric activities to be not 'monolithic,' but rather composite of the divine and human *energeiai*.

Anastasius emphatically considered lack of an activity as an *energeia*. For instance, the insensibility of the body of Christ in the tomb constituted for him a kind of a purely human activity.¹ So did the speechlessness (ἄφθεγγξία), either when Christ was a baby², or when his body lay in the tomb³. Another example of this sort of activity was Christ, when he was wrapped in a linen cloth.⁴ Such *energeiai* can be labelled 'potential,' as opposed to 'actual.' In fact, Anastasius applied, in the aforementioned cases, the distinction between the potential and actual existence (τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ – τῇ δυνάμει), which constituted a characteristic feature of the Aristotelian tradition, though it was virtually ignored by the theologians who participated in the Monenergist-Monothelite controversy before Anastasius. The utilization of the Aristotelian distinction, though in a modified form, was a characteristic feature of Anastasius' approach. By employing this distinction, he intended to show that purely human *energeiai* could by no means be attributed to the divinity. His ultimate goal was to prove that there were distinctive divine and human activities in Christ.

¹ See: 'Οὐτε θεανδρικῶς τὴν νέκρωσιν ἀναισθησίαν ἐκέκτητο.' *Opera* 2 VIII 333-40.

² *ViaeDux* XIII 7133-135.

³ See *Opera* 2 VIII 362.

⁴ *Opera* 2 VIII 349-51.

Anastasius found purely human activities in not only the dead Christ, but also when he was alive. These activities were both passive and active. Among the former, Anastasius enumerated the swaddling of the baby Christ in the manger¹, the touching of his body², his piercing by the nails and by the spear³, and his death upon the cross⁴. In addition, Christ's human nature was seen by people, but the divine remained unseen.⁵ To be seen by other people was considered by Anastasius as a purely human *energeia*.

The passive *energeiai* could be ascribed, according to Anastasius, to the Eucharistic body of Christ too. Thus, it can be held by hands (κρατεῖσθαι), broken (κλᾶσθαι, μελίζεσθαι, θρύβεσθαι), bitten by teeth (ὑπὸ ὀδόντων κατατέμνεσθαι), diminished by being consumed (κενοῦσθαι), and changed from the ordinary bread into the body of Christ (μεταβάλλεσθαι). Similarly, the Eucharistic blood of Christ can be shed (ἐκχεῖσθαι) and drunk (πίνεσθαι).⁶ Anastasius put in the same category some 'natural' processes related to the body of Christ, along with the 'blameless passions.' In particular, he referred to

¹ *Opera* 2 VIII 3⁸².

² *Opera* 2 VIII 3⁸⁸.

³ *Opera* 2 VIII 3⁹⁶⁻⁹⁸.

⁴ *Opera* 2 VIII 3⁹⁹⁻¹⁰⁰.

⁵ 'Οὐ θεανδρικῶς ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐθεωρεῖτο ὁ Χριστός – Θεὸν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἑώρακε πώποτε (John 1, 18).' *Opera* 2 VIII 3⁶⁹⁻⁷⁰.

⁶ *ViaeDux* XIII 2⁷²⁻⁷⁵.

the forming of Christ's body in the womb of the Virgin¹, his growing up², the forming of his body's shape³, the strengthening of the nerves, bones, hands, and legs⁴, his circumcision⁵, his seeking his mother's breast with weeping⁶, shifting from milk to solid food⁷, crying⁸, emitting inarticulate words and the sounds that are usual to babies⁹, creeping, walking and articulating his first words with the assistance of his mother¹⁰, having a haircut¹¹, the growth of his hairs, nails, and teeth¹², hunger¹³, sleep¹⁴, fatigue¹⁵, cuttings off, discharging or taking off related to his body, as for example making water, spitting, sweating, or

¹ *Opera* 2 VIII 3⁸²⁻⁸³.

² *Opera* 2 VIII 3⁸⁴.

³ *ViaeDux* XIII 71³⁶⁻¹³⁷.

⁴ *ViaeDux* XIII 71³⁷⁻¹³⁹.

⁵ *Opera* 2 IX 1¹⁴⁻¹⁵.

⁶ *ViaeDux* XIII 5²¹⁻²³, 5³⁶⁻³⁷.

⁷ *ViaeDux* XIII 71⁴⁻¹⁴¹.

⁸ *ViaeDux* XIII 7⁶⁴⁻⁶⁵.

⁹ *ViaeDux* XIII 5³⁸⁻⁴⁰.

¹⁰ *ViaeDux* XIII 5⁴⁰⁻⁴³.

¹¹ *ViaeDux* XIII 71⁴⁷⁻¹⁵⁰.

¹² *Opera* 2 VIII 3⁸⁶⁻⁸⁷.

¹³ *Opera* 2 VIII 3⁹⁰.

¹⁴ *Opera* 2 VIII 3⁹⁰.

¹⁵ *Opera* 2 VIII 3⁹⁰.

bleeding¹. When Christ's human soul left the body² and then returned in it³, for Anastasius this also signified a human *energeia*. After the resurrection, Christ manifested such purely human activities as eating the fish and honey⁴, and staying with the apostles until the Ascension⁵.

Christ also had purely divine *energeiai*, both when he was alive and dead. They were not passive or 'potential,' but rather active and 'actual.' Anastasius offered an original description of the divine activities of Christ when his body lay in the tomb. There, he had only divine hearing, but not theandric, as when he was alive.⁶ He also had only a divine voice, though inexpressible in words and beyond the reach of a human ear.⁷ He even had divine touch when his body remained dead and was unable to have human touch. So Nicodemus, who touched the body when he buried him⁸, in fact was touched by Christ's Godhead. This touch constituted a purely divine *energeia*.⁹ Finally, even when he was dead, Christ was still alive. His life then constituted a purely divine

¹ *Opera* 2 VIII 3⁹³⁻⁹⁵.

² *Opera* 2 VII 3⁹¹.

³ *Opera* 2 VII 3⁹².

⁴ *ViaeDux* XIII 4⁷⁹⁻⁸⁰.

⁵ *ViaeDux* XIII 4⁶⁹⁻⁷¹.

⁶ *Opera* 2 VIII 3⁵⁴⁻⁵⁸.

⁷ *Opera* 2 VIII 3⁵⁹⁻⁶¹.

⁸ See John 19, 40.

⁹ *Opera* 2 VIII 3⁴⁴⁻⁴⁷.

energeia, but not a theandric one.¹ That the dead Christ still had the divine *energeiai*, was possible because the Godhead never abandoned his body and soul after their separation from each other. To illustrate how this was possible, Anastasius used the example of a house. As daylight fills up a house, whether it is intact or derelict, so the Logos dwells and acts in his body and soul whether they are united or separated from each other after death.² Although the fullness of the Godhead still dwelt in the body of Christ when the soul abandoned it, the divine *energeiai* did not replace the human *energeiai*.³

Christ acted purely divinely not only when his body was separated from the soul, but also when he was alive. He acted then in common with the Father.⁴ Among these activities Anastasius mentioned the examples of Christ raising a star to guide the *Magi*⁵, illuminating the shepherds with a glorious light, being worshipped by the Angels on the night of his birth⁶, and causing the Virgin to produce milk⁷. There was a series of similar activities when Christ was hung on

¹ *Opera* 2 VIII 3⁶³⁻⁶⁴.

² See *Opera* 2 IX 1⁵²⁻⁶², 1⁸²⁻¹⁰⁴, 2¹⁴⁻²⁷.

³ *Opera* 2 X 2⁸¹⁻⁸⁸.

⁴ See *Opera* 2 VIII 5³⁰⁻³³.

⁵ See Matt 2, 2. 9-10.

⁶ *Opera* 2 VIII 5³³⁻³⁶; see Luke 2, 10-14.

⁷ *ViaeDux* XIII 5²⁰⁻²¹.

the cross. Among them Anastasius listed the coming of the darkness¹, the splitting of the rocks², the tearing of the curtain of the Temple³, the opening of the tombs⁴, the resurrection of the dead⁵, the earthquake during the crucifixion,⁶ and the resurrection⁷. Anastasius also mentioned some miracles performed by Christ during his life, without the participation of human nature. Among them was the healing of the servant of the centurion⁸ and of the daughter of the Canaanite woman⁹, which were performed 'at a distance.'

Anastasius remarked that Christ acted as man only in Judea, and as God in the entire universe.¹⁰ The absence of Christ at various places was considered by Anastasius as a 'potential' human *energeia*. Such was his absence in the tomb after the resurrection¹¹, and in Bethany when Lazarus died there¹². Therefore,

¹ See Matt 27, 45; Mark 15, 33; Luke 23, 44-45.

² See Matt 27, 51.

³ See Matt 27, 15; Mark 15, 38; Luke 23, 45.

⁴ See Matt 27, 52.

⁵ See Matt 27, 52.

⁶ See Matt 27, 51-54.

⁷ See Matt 28, 2; *Opera* 2 VIII 5³⁹⁻⁴³.

⁸ See Matt 8, 5-23; Luke 7, 1-10.

⁹ See Matt 15, 21-28; Mark 7, 24-30; *Opera* 2 VIII 5³⁶⁻³⁹.

¹⁰ See *Opera* 2 VI 2²⁵⁻³¹.

¹¹ See *Opera* 2 VI 2⁵¹⁻⁵⁷.

¹² See *Opera* 2 VI 2⁵¹⁻⁵⁷.

any activity of Christ limited in space was regarded by Anastasius as human, and any activity unlimited in space as divine. For instance, such passages of Holy Scripture as the testimonies of the Angel: 'He has risen! He is not here' (Mark 16, 6), and of Christ himself: 'Lazarus is dead. And for your sake I am glad I was not there' (John 11, 14-15), indicated for Anastasius the human *energeiai*.¹ Anastasius applied this conception to the spiritual life of Christians. Thus, Christ abides in them according to his omnipresent divine *energeia*, but not according to his human *energeia*, because as man he is still limited in space.² Concluding, Anastasius considered the simultaneous presence and absence of Christ in *topos* and *chronos* as manifestations of the two *energeiai*, which were distinctive, because they can be manifested separately from each other.

Anastasius specified changeability as a characteristic feature of the human *energeia*. For instance, the human *energeia* turned from the state of corruption into the incorruptedness.³ In addition, Christ was sometimes able to see, and sometimes not. This meant that the particular *energeia* of seeing was not always in his possession and was therefore changeable.⁴ The divine *energeia*, on the other hand, was unchangeable (ἀναλλοίωτος καὶ ἀδιάβλητος)⁵, as with the

¹ See *Opera* 2 VI 2⁵¹⁻⁵⁷.

² See *Opera* 2 VI 2⁶²⁻⁶⁸.

³ See *Opera* 2 VII 3⁸⁹⁻⁹⁰.

⁴ See *Opera* 2 VII 3⁹²⁻⁹³.

⁵ See *Opera* 2 VII 3⁸⁶⁻⁹³.

divine nature, which was invariable, immutable, and not decreased.¹ Among the purely divine *energeiai*, Anastasius found paradoxical ones, as, for instance, the distress (λύπη) which was mentioned, as he believed, in the epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Ephesians: 'And do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God, with whom you were sealed for the day of redemption' (Eph 4, 30). This distress was free of any passion, any humanly understood sorrow, trouble, or agony.² Anastasius distinguished this kind of distress from the purely human one, which Christ experienced as well. The human distress, as Anastasius remarked, was testified in the following words of Christ: 'My soul is overwhelmed with sorrow to the point of death' (Matt 26, 38; Mark 14, 34).

Finally, Anastasius offered a list of the 'theandric *energeiai*.' As indicated earlier, he defined them as those which Christ performed through his divine and human natures. Among these *energeiai*, he enumerated Christ's birth from the Virgin, the walking upon the surface of the sea³, healing of the blind by saliva⁴ and of the deaf man by putting his fingers into his ear⁵, resurrecting the daughter of the synagogue ruler by touching her with his hand⁶, and giving the

¹ See *Opera* 2 VIII 3¹¹⁻¹⁷.

² See *Opera* 2 VI 3⁴⁷⁻⁴⁹.

³ See Matt 14, 24-33; Mark 6, 47-52; John 6, 16-21.

⁴ See Mark 8, 22-26; John 9, 1-7.

⁵ See Mark 7, 32-35.

⁶ See Mark 5, 38-42; Matt 9, 23-25; Luke 8, 52-55; *Opera* 2 VIII 5⁴⁸⁻⁵⁶.

| human <i>energeiai</i> | | divine <i>energeiai</i> | | theandric <i>energeiai</i> | |
|---|--|--|---|--|---|
| Christ before the incarnation and in the period between his death and resurrection | Christ while alive and after the resurrection | Christ before the incarnation and in the period between his death and resurrection | Christ while alive and after the resurrection | Christ before the incarnation and in the period between his death and resurrection | Christ while alive and after the resurrection |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • formation of Christ's body in the womb of the Virgin • being swaddled in the manger • circumcision • having a haircut • touches of others to Christ's body • being hurt by nails • being seen by men | | | | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • death • being pierced by the spear | | | | | |
| | P a s s i v | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|--|--|
| e | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the Eucharistic body of Christ can be held by hands, broken, bit by teeth, diminished after having been consumed the Eucharistic blood of Christ can be shed and drunk | | | | |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> changeability | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> inchangeability | | | |
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> growing up formation of the body's shape strengthening of the nerves, bones, hands, and legs seeking the mother's breast with weeping | | | | |

| | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|---|--|---|
| | | | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• having fatigue• watering<ul style="list-style-type: none">• expectoration• hidrosis• bleeding• having distress• eating a fish and honey after the resurrection• staying with the apostles during 40 days after the resurrection, eating and drinking with them | | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• making an earthquake• dwelling in the souls of the Christians• acting in all the universe<ul style="list-style-type: none">• being distressed | | <p>resurrecting Lazarus</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• giving the Holy Spirit to the Apostles by breathing on them |
|--|--|--|--|--|---|--|---|

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|--|---|--|---|--|
| p o t e n t i a l | | | | | |
| P a s s i v e | | | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • being limited in the space (Christ acted only in Judea) • being circumscribed • changing from the state of the corruptedness into the uncorruptedness | |
| | | | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • not speaking when a baby • being absent in Bethany when Lazarus died there • being absent in the tomb after the resurrection • being not with the Christians after the Ascension | |
| a c t i v e | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • insensibility of the body, when Christ was in the tomb • silence • immobility | | | |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • being unlimited in the space | |
| | | | | | |

Anastasius also applied another method of classifying the activities.¹ The common objects, instruments, or circumstances of the *energeiai* were chosen as the main criterion for this classification:

| human activity | common objects, instruments, or circumstances of activity | divine activity |
|---|---|---|
| περιεγράφη ἐν μήτρᾳ ὡς ἄνθρωπος | baby in his mother's womb | ὁ φυλάττων τὰ νήπια ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ ὡς Θεός |
| ὁ μικροφυῆς τεχθεὶς κατὰ σάρκα | birth and growing up | αὕξει τὰ πάντα ὡς Θεός |
| ὁ ἐν φάτνῃ σπαργανωθείς σαρκί | swaddling | τὴν ἄβυσσον ὁμίχλη ἐσπαργάνωσεν (Job 38, 9) ὡς Θεός |
| ὁ θηλάσας παιζοπρεπῶς μαζῶν μητρικῶν | receiving and providing life | ζωοποιεῖ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θεοπρεπῶς |
| ὁ καθεύδων ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ σαρκί | sleep | ἐγείρει τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐξουσία θεϊκῇ |
| ὁ κεκοπιακῶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος | fatigue | βοᾷ· Ἐϋτε πρὸς με πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες, κἀγὼ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς (Matth 11, 28) ὡς Θεός |

¹ Opera 2 V⁷⁸⁻¹¹⁰; see also *ViaeDux* XIII 5⁹⁻²⁵.

| | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|---|
| <p>ὁ βοήσας 'Διψῶ'</p> <p>(John 19, 28)</p> | <p>thirst</p> | <p>αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς ὁ</p> <p>λέγων· 'Εἴ τις διψᾷ,</p> <p>ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ</p> <p>πινέτω' (John 7, 37)· ἐγὼ</p> <p>γάρ εἰμι ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ζωῆς</p> <p>(John 11, 25; 14, 6)</p> |
| <p>ὁ πεινάσας ἐκουσίως ὡς</p> <p>ἄνθρωπος</p> | <p>food</p> | <p>αὐτός ἐστιν 'ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐκ</p> <p>τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς'</p> <p>(John 6, 41.58)</p> |
| <p>Χριστῷ τῷ κλίναντι γόνυ</p> <p>καὶ τρίτον προσευξαμένῳ</p> <p>ἐν τῷ πάθει</p> <p>ἄνθρωποπρεπῶς</p> | <p>genuflection</p> | <p>αὐτῷ 'κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ</p> <p>ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων</p> <p>καὶ καταχθονίων' (Phil 2,</p> <p>10) ὡς Θεῷ</p> |
| <p>ὁ ῥαπισθεὶς ἐκουσίως ὡς</p> <p>ἄνθρωπος</p> | <p>striking</p> | <p>ῥαπίζει καὶ ἀστράπτει καὶ</p> <p>σεῖει τὴν γῆν ὡς Θεὸς</p> <p>παντοδύναμος</p> |
| <p>τῷ ἐκδυθέντι γυμνῷ ἐν</p> <p>σταυρῷ ἄνθρωποπρεπῶς</p> | <p>standing naked in front of</p> | <p>αὐτῷ παριστάμεθα</p> <p>πάντες γυμνοὶ καὶ</p> <p>τετραχλισμένοι ὡς Θεῷ</p> |
| <p>ὁ εξετασθεὶς ὑπὸ Πιλάτου</p> <p>Ἰησοῦς</p> | <p>examination</p> | <p>'ἐτάζει καρδίας καὶ</p> <p>νεφρῶν' ἐν τῇ κρίσει,</p> <p>Θεὸς ὢν, ὡς δικαστῆς</p> <p>φοβερός</p> |
| <p>ὃν ἐλοιδόρησαν οἱ</p> | <p>cursing and praising</p> | <p>αὐτὸν δοξολογοῦσι πᾶσαι</p> |

| | | |
|--|----------------|--|
| Ιουδαῖοι ὡς ἄνθρωπον | | αἱ στρατιαὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὡς Θεὸν φιλάνθρωπον |
| Οἱ πόδες καὶ χεῖρες αἱ ὀρυχθεῖσαι τοῖς ἥλοις Ἰησοῦ | legs and hands | αὐτοὶ δεσμήσουσι χεῖρας καὶ πόδας Ἰουδαίων δι' ἀγγέλων καὶ παραπέμψουσι 'τῷ σκότει τῷ ἐξωτέρῳ' (Matth 22, 13) |
| τὸ πρόσωπον ἐκεῖνο τὸ 'μὴ ἔχον εἶδος οὐδὲ κάλλος' (Isa 53, 2) ἐπὶ σταυροῦ | face | αὐτὸ ἀστράψει ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ 'σαλευθήσονται πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν' (Matth 24, 29; Mark 13, 25; Luke 21, 26) |
| τὸ ἅγιον σῶμα τὸ διψήσαν ἀνθρωπίνως ἐν σταυρῷ | body | αὐτὸ λαλήσει ὅτε ἔλθῃ, καὶ ταραχθήσονται καὶ θροηθήσονται καὶ σκοτισθήσονται καὶ 'σαλευθήσονται πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς' (Ps 81, 5) |

Anastasius drew his arguments in favour of two *energeiai* in Christ from both the aforementioned classifications. The Dyenergist polemicists who preceded Anastasius preferred, as has been shown, to consider all the activities of Christ from the point of view of the *communicatio idiomatum* and *communicatio operationum*. Owing to these *communicationes*, no one human activity, to them,

was performed by Christ without the participation of his divine nature and no one of his divine activities was performed without the *synergia* of his human nature. On this particular point, the Orthodox conception of Christ's activities was similar to that of the Monenergists. The difference was that for the Monenergists 'a certain theandric *energeia*' was monolithic, whereas for the Orthodox it was twofold and consisted of the divine and human activities which were never mixed or confused. These approaches can be depicted in the following way:



Figure 1. Both the Dyenergists and the Monenergists understood the activities of Christ as theandric.

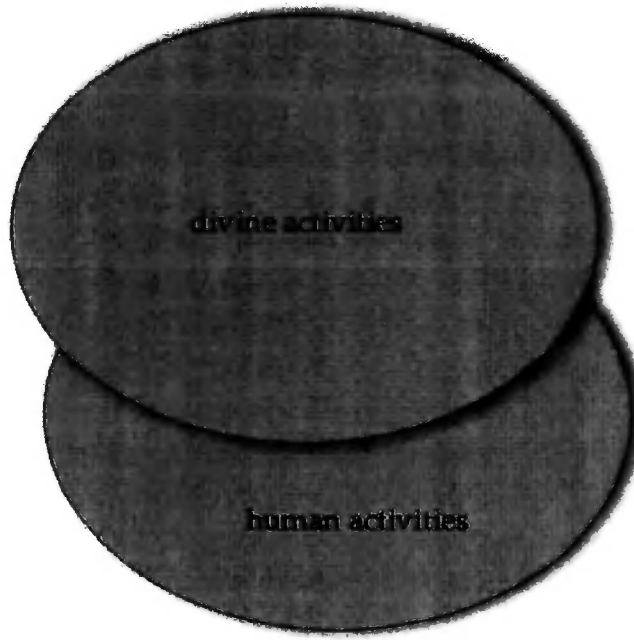


Figure 2. The difference between the two doctrines becomes evident if we look on the figure at a different angle. Thus, for the Dyenergists the activities of Christ are twofold.

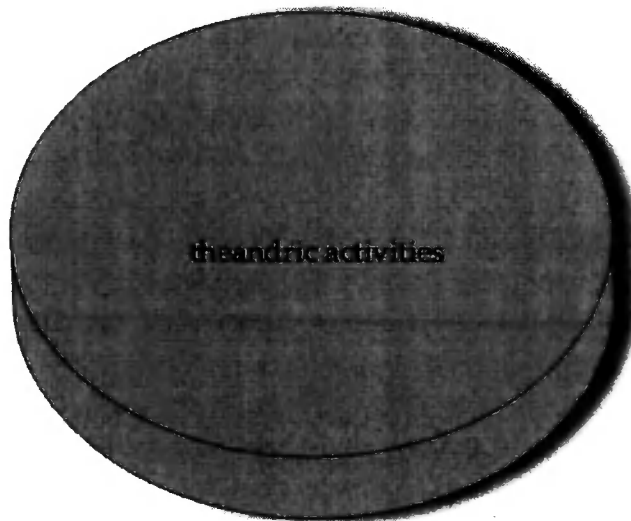


Figure 3. In the interpretation of the Monenergists, the activities are monolithic.

In the interpretation of Anastasius, however, while the Monenergists thought that all *energeiai* of Christ were theandric, the Orthodox should hold

that some activities were either purely divine or purely human. Therefore, the difference between the two doctrines, as understood by Anastasius, can be represented by the following figures.



Figure 4. Anastasius’ point of view on the Monenergist conception.

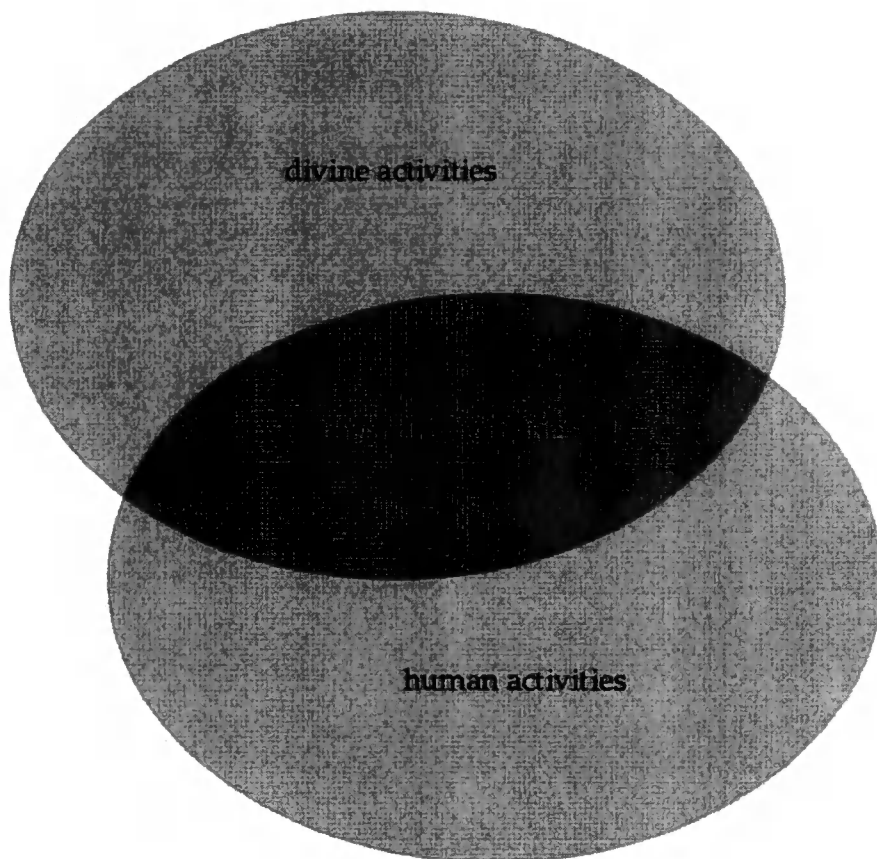


Figure 5. Anastasius' own conception of the activities in Christ.

Anastasius preferred not a 'spherical' picture of the activities drawn up by his predecessors, but a 'plain' one. This implies that the theandric *energeiai* of Christ consist of unconfused human and divine activities.

5.3.4.2. THE CONNECTION BETWEEN ENERGEIAI AND PROPERTIES

Another argument in support of two *energeiai* was taken by Anastasius from traditional polemics and developed further. This argument was built on the assumption, mentioned above, that the *energeia* retains all the properties of

its nature. Thus, provided the divine and human natures of Christ are uncreated and created, circumscribed and uncircumscribed, not having a beginning and having a beginning correspondingly, the two *energeiai* have the same properties. Therefore, according to Anastasius, if the *energeia* of Christ is single, as the Monenergists believed, it must be simultaneously divine and human, uncreated and created, circumscribed and uncircumscribed, having and not having a beginning. As Anastasius characteristically put it, it must be created-and-uncreated (κτιστάκτιστον), semi-human and semi-divine (ἡμίθεον καὶ ἡμιάνθρωπον), circumscribed-and-uncircumscribed (περιγραπτοαπερίγραφτον), having-and-not-having-a-beginning (ἐναρχοάναρχον).¹

5.3.4.3. IMAGE OF CHRIST

Another argument in support of Dyenergism was developed by Anastasius on the assumption that man is created and exists according to the image and the likeness of Christ. This assumption was particularly inspiring for Anastasius who dedicated a significant part of his writings to its exploration.

¹ 'Τί δ' ἄρα καὶ προσαγορεύετε ταύτην τὴν σύνθετον ὕμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ ἐνέργειαν; κτιστὴν ἄρα ἢ ἀκτιστον ἢ πάντως κτιστάκτιστον, ἡμίθεον καὶ ἡμιάνθρωπον; Περιγραπτὴν δὲ αὐτὴν ἄρα δογματίζετε ἢ ἀπερίγραφτον ἢ πάντως περιγραπτοαπερίγραφτον; Ἐναρχὸν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀνακηρύττετε ἢ ἀναρχον; Εὐδὴλον ὅτι ἐναρχοάναρχον ... Ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἢ ὅλην αὐτὴν κτιστὴν λέγεσθαι ἢ ὅλην ἀκτιστον, ἢ πᾶσαν περιγραπτὴν ἢ πᾶσαν ἀπερίγραφτον, ἢ καθόλου ἐναρχον ἢ πᾶσαν εἶναι ἀναρχον.' *Opera* 2 VI 3¹⁻¹⁰; compare with Maximus: 'Ἡ κτιστὴν, ἢ ἀκτιστον λέγειν ταύτην (= the *energeia*) ἀναγκασθήσεσθε· ἐπειδὴ μέσον κτιστῆς καὶ ἀκτιστου οὐδεμία ὑπάρχει τὸ σύνολον. Καὶ εἰ μὲν κτιστὴν αὐτὴν φήσετε, κτιστὴν καὶ μόνην δηλώσει φύσιν· εἰ δὲ ἀκτιστον, ἀκτιστον καὶ μόνην χαρακτηρίσει φύσιν.' *Disputatio* 341^a.

He preferred to consider man as an image of Christ¹, though he sometimes regarded him as an image of Godhead as well.² The conception of man as an image of Christ goes back to Philo who first suggested that an authentic image of man is the Logos.³ Among the Christian authors, Irenaeus and Origen⁵ employed this approach, which was especially favoured by Athanasius⁶. Anastasius also drew a distinction between being 'according to the image' and 'according to the likeness.' He ascribed the former exclusively to the human

¹ Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ διάφοροι γινώμην περὶ τούτου τοῖς ἐξηγητῶν ἐρρέθησαν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀρχικὸν καὶ ἐξουσιαστικὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ εἶπαν, ἕτεροι δὲ τὸ νοερὸν καὶ ἀόρατον τῆς ψυχῆς, ἄλλοι τὸ ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀναμάρτητον ὅτε γέγονε ὁ Ἀδάμ, ἕτεροι προφητεῖαν αὐτὸ εἶρηκαν περὶ βαπτίσματος ... A man reflects ὥσπερ ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ τινὶ καὶ σκιαγραφία τυπικῇ, οὐ φυσικῇ, τῆς τριουποστάτου θεότητος τὸ μυστήριον, οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ ἑνὸς τῆς αὐτῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος Θεοῦ Λόγου σαφῶς προδιαγράφων.' *Opera* 2 I 1^{30-35, 51-54}.

² See, for example, *Opera* 2 I 2^{9-27, 45-50} ff.

³ See, for instance: 'Σκιαὶ Θεοῦ δὲ ὁ Λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, ᾧ καθάπερ ὀργάνῳ προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποιεῖ. αὕτη δὲ ἡ σκία καὶ τὸ ὡσανεὶ ἀπεικόνισμα ἐτέρων ἐστὶν ἀρχέτυπον· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς παράδειγμα τῆς εἰκόνος, ἦν σκίαν νυνὶ κέκληκεν, οὕτως ἡ εἰκὼν ἄλλων γίνεται παράδειγμα, ὡς καὶ ἐναρχόμενος τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐδήλωσεν εἰπὼν· "καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ" (Gen 1, 27), ὡς τῆς μὲν εἰκόνος κατὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀπεικονισθείσης, τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα λαβοῦσαν δύναμιν παραδείγματος.' *LegAlleg* III 96²-97¹; also *Heres* 230-231; *deOpificio* 24-25. See on the conception of man as an image of God H. C. Graef. 'L'image de Dieu et la structure de l'âme chez le Pères grecs.' *Revue d'éthique et de théologie morale*, no. 22 (1952): 331-39; Jean Kirchmeyer. 'Grecque (Eglise).' *Dictionnaire De Spiritualité*, 808-872, esp. 813-822. Paris: Beauchesne, 1967; Vladimir Lossky. *In the Image and Likeness of God*. London: Mowbrays, 1975.

⁴ See, for instance: 'Ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν χρόνοις ἐλέγομεν κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ γεγονέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐκ ἐδείκνυτο δέ· ἔτι γὰρ ἀόρατος ἦν ὁ Λόγος, οὐ κατ' εἰκόνα ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐγεγόνει· διὰ τοῦτο δὴ καὶ τὴν ὁμοίωσιν ῥαδίως ἀπέβαλεν. Ὅποτε δὲ σὰρξ ἐγένετο ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὰ ἀμφοτέρω ἐπεκύρωσε· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐδειξεν ἀληθῶς, αὐτὸς τοῦτο γενόμενος ὅπερ ἦν ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν ὁμοίωσιν βεβαίως κατέστησε συνεξομοιώσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῷ ἀοράτῳ Πατρὶ διὰ τοῦ βλεπομένου Λόγου.' *advHaeres* 15¹⁻⁹.

⁵ See, for instance: 'Διὸ καὶ κατ' εἰκόνα γεγονέναι ὠνόμασται τοῦ Θεοῦ· Εἰκὼν γὰρ τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεοῦ ὁ Λόγος ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ.' *contCelsum* 4.85²³⁻²⁴.

⁶ See, for instance, *contraGen* 2¹⁷⁻¹⁸; *contraGen* 46²⁵ ff.; see Régis Bernard. *L'image de Dieu d'après Saint Athanase, Théologie (Lyon-Fourvière)*, 25. Paris: Aubier, 1952.

soul, which therefore appeared to be an image of the 'bare' divinity, and attributed the latter to man in his fullness, who was consequently believed to be a likeness of the incarnated Christ.¹

In the context of the conception of man as an image and likeness of Christ, Anastasius explored the relations between the body and soul in order to demonstrate the mode of relations between the natures² and *energeiai* in Christ and in particular to prove his point that Christ acted commonly in a theandric manner and separately in either a purely divine or purely human manner. He distinguished two kinds of activities of man: those performed by the human soul in cooperation with the body and the pure activities of the human soul.³ Among the latter, Anastasius listed the love of God, faith, hope, humility⁴ and

¹ 'Καὶ τάχα κατ' εἰκόνα μὲν ἐστὶ γυμνὴ ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς γυμνῆς θεότητος. καθ' ὁμοίωσιν δὲ τῆς τοῦ Λόγου σαρκώσεως τὸ σύνθετον ἡμῶν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος.' *Opera* 2 I 1⁵⁴⁻⁵⁷. 'Τότε φησὶ "Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ'εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν," καὶ ποιεῖ ζῶον, ὥσπερ τινα μικτὸν κόσμον συγγενῇ τῶν δύο κόσμων, ἐξ ἀσωμάτου καὶ ἀθανάτου καὶ ἀφθάρτου ψυχῆς καὶ ἐξ ὑλικοῦ καὶ ὀρωμένου τετραστοίχου σώματος συγκεείμενον.' *Opera* 2 I 1²²⁻²⁶.

² 'Ὁμολογῶ τὴν πανάμωμον αὐτοῦ (= Χριστοῦ) τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος οὕτω καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἡνωμένην τῇ ἀχάρντῳ αὐτοῦ θεότητι, ὥσπερ ὅλη δι' ὅλου ἡνῶται ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ σώματι.' *ViaeDux* XXI 4⁶⁻¹⁰.

³ 'Οὕτω πάλιν ὡς ἐν εἰκόνι τινὶ καὶ τύπῳ λέγω ὁράται ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ διττὴ τις ἐνεργείας ἔμφασις εἰς εἰκόνα καὶ τύπον Χριστοῦ. Καθάπερ γὰρ ἡ αὐτοῦ θεότης ἐνήργει καὶ θεανδρικῶς, ἐνήργει δὲ καὶ θεϊκῶς ἐν οὐρανῷ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀναλήψεως ὡς ἀπεριγράφτος καὶ μὴ περιγραφεῖσα ἐν τῷ σώματι, οὕτω καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ἀοράτου Θεοῦ Λόγου ὑπάρχουσα ἐνεργεῖ μὲν καὶ ψυχανδρικῶς, τουτέστι σωματοψύχως, εἰς τύπον τοῦ θεανδρικῶς Χριστοῦ, ἐνεργεῖ δὲ καὶ ψυχικῶς μόνον πλείστᾳ τινα, μὴ συνεργοῦντος αὐτῇ τοῦ οἰκείου σώματος, εἰς τύπον τοῦ ἀοράτου Θεοῦ Λόγου τοῦ πολλὰ ἀοράτως ἐνεργήσαντος καὶ ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς διὰ τῆς ἀπεριγράπτου αὐτοῦ καὶ παγκοσμίου καὶ ὑπερκοσμίου θεϊκῆς ἐνεργείας.' *Opera* 2 III 3⁴⁵⁻⁵⁸.

⁴ See *Opera* 2 III 3⁵⁹⁻⁶⁴.

other virtues which depend on purity of the heart.¹ Remarkably, Anastasius spoke only of pure activities of the human soul, not of the human body. Simultaneously, alongside with the purely divine *energeiai* of Christ he found purely human ones. This means that he implicitly restricted the limits of the analogy between Christ and man.

In the same context of man as an image and likeness of Christ, Anastasius distinguished between two other kinds of activities: those which accord with the nature and those which transcend its laws. For instance, to obey the commandment of honouring one's father, the mother, the brothers and all one's relatives² is a natural willing of the human soul, whereas to leave them for the sake of God³ is a divine willing.⁴ This distinction, according to Anastasius, reflects the fact that Christ had two *energeiai*.⁵

Anastasius used other images to illustrate how it was possible for Christ to have two *energeiai*. Among them, he mentioned the sun that simultaneously shines and burns⁶, a burning-hot knife that simultaneously cuts and burns⁷, and

¹ See *Opera* 2 III 3⁶⁵⁻⁶⁹.

² See Exod 20, 12; Deut 5, 16.

³ See Matt 10, 37; Luke 14, 26.

⁴ See *Opera* 2 III 3⁷⁻¹³.

⁵ See *Opera* 2 III 3¹⁻⁶.

⁶ *Opera* 2 IX 1⁴¹⁻⁴⁶.

⁷ *Opera* 2 IX 1⁴⁷⁻⁵¹.

a human mind that contemplates the meanings of the Scriptures and leads the hand that writes them down¹. Anastasius employed these images to show the concordance between the *energeiai* in Christ. Following the preceding Dyenergist tradition, he insisted that the divine and human activities of Christ do not fight each other (ἄμαχοι)², but coexist in peace (εἰρηναῖαι) despite their different origins (ἑτερογενεῖς)³. They in no way rebel against each other (οὐδαμῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλας στασιάζουσιν)⁴, but co-operate with one another (συνεργοί and ὁμοεργοί).⁵ Anastasius rejected δύο καταλλήλους ἐνεργείας in Christ. The Greek word κατάλληλος normally means ‘fitting, suitable, appropriate, contemporaneous’⁶, but also ‘located in front of each other’⁷, ‘set over against one another’⁸. Anastasius used it in the latter sense, *i.e.* he rejected that the *energeiai* of Christ could be adversarial to each other.

¹ *Opera* 2 IX 1⁶³⁻⁶⁸.

² *Opera* 2 IX 1⁴⁴.

³ *Opera* 2 IX 1⁵⁰⁻⁵¹.

⁴ *Opera* 2 IX 1⁶⁶⁻⁶⁸.

⁵ *Opera* 2 X 5¹²⁰⁻¹²¹.

⁶ See E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods: (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)*. 2. ed. Hildesheim; New York: George Olms, 1983.

⁷ И. Х. Дворецкий, *Древнегреческо-русский словарь*. See, for instance, Aristotle: ‘ἔτι τῆς μὲν οἱ πόροι κατάλληλοι.’ *Problemata* 905b⁷⁻⁸.

⁸ Liddell & Scott. *A Greek-English Lexicon*.

5.3.5. WILL – *ENERGEIA* – SIN

Anastasius said that his opponents rejected the human *energeia* and will in Christ on the assumption that the nature of man, together with its *energeia* and will, was distorted and corrupted by sin.¹ Anastasius' critique of this point was again quite original. To him, it was the body that underwent corruption, but not the soul, which remains uncorrupted and immortal. Therefore, the soul does not need any essential re-creation (οὐσιώδης ἀνάπλασις), but only a certain 'rational correction and confession' (λογιστική τις διόρθωσις καὶ ἐξομολόγησις).² This was apparently the reason why Anastasius insisted that the human will and *energeia* belong mainly to the soul, but not to the body. On this point, however, Anastasius contradicted himself, accepting in other passages that Christ assumed the human will in order to heal it.³ Christ also adopted human activity, in order to enable men to do only what God wants.⁴ In addition, Anastasius spoke of a σωματοψύχος activity of men, which should be considered as being corrupted, provided the corrupted body acts together with the soul. The contradiction can be minimized, though not resolved entirely, if

¹ 'Ἀλλὰ παρετράπη' φησὶν 'ὁ ἄνθρωπος.' 'Καὶ πάντα τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πάντως,' ἐροῦσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἱ αἰρετικοί, 'καὶ τούτου χάριν ἀλλότριον καὶ ἀνάξιόν ἐστι τὸ λέγειν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ ἀνθρώπινον θέλημα ἢ ἀνθρωπίνην ἐνέργειαν.' *Opera* 2 III 4⁸²⁻⁸⁵.

² See *Opera* 2 III 4⁸⁶⁻¹⁰¹.

³ 'Κατεδέξατω μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν θεοκτίστων ιδιωμάτων καὶ τὸ θεόφυτον τῆς ψυχῆς θέλημα, ἵνα τοῦτο ἰάσῃται πρὸς τὸ μὴ θέλιν μήτε ποιεῖν τὰ τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς θελήματα.' *Opera* 2 VI 3⁹²⁻⁹⁶.

⁴ 'Ὡμοίως καὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἡμῶν τὴν κατ' εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ οἰκειώσατο εἰς τὸ διδάξαι αὐτὴν μηκέτι ἐνεργεῖν καὶ πράττειν τὰ τῷ Θεῷ μὴ ἀρέσκοντα.' *Opera* 2 VI 3⁹⁷⁻⁹⁹; see also *Opera* 2 VI 3¹¹²⁻¹¹⁶.

we take into consideration that Anastasius regarded the human *energeia* and will as the instruments of salvation, rather than its objects. This can be seen, for instance, in the following passage:

For only this our will and *energeia*, which is given by God (θεόδοτος), is the reason and the worker (ἐργάτης) of all our salvation. For by the deliberate will (θελήματι ἐκουσίῳ) of the soul we have believed in God, by the deliberate will we preserve virginity, by deliberate will we undertake struggle, sleeping on the ground, and love, by the will we love our neighbour, and in short, all the spiritual, divine, and necessary (ἀναγκαῖαι) virtues, which have the image of God, as well as divine visions, enlightenments, revelations, and progress, are made, accomplished and brought about by God in our immaterial will and *energeia* of the soul.¹

In this passage Anastasius touched on another important issue – that of the *synergia* of man and God in the salvation of human race. To him, every virtue, vision, enlightenment, revelation, or spiritual advancement of man was the common outcome of the human and divine wills and activities. In other words, God acts within and through the human will and *energeia*.

5.3.6. FEAR OF CHRIST

One of the major *foci* of Anastasius' polemics against Monenergism-Monothelitism was the problem of the fear of Christ. He approached this problem in accordance with the thought of his predecessors, though he added some specific features. He shared with the other Orthodox polemicists the assumption that man, in his normal 'natural' state, loves life and hates death.²

¹ *Opera* 2 III 6¹⁻¹¹.

² 'Τὸ ἀγαπᾶν τὴν ζωὴν φυσικόν ἐστὶ καὶ ἀδιάβλητον ἀνθρώπου θέλημα.' *Opera* 2 V²⁶⁻²⁷.

Having this assumption as a starting point, Anastasius characterized the natural human will as loving life (φιλόζωος) and hating death (μισοθάνατος).¹ Man loves life because he loves immortality, which he received at the very beginning of his existence.² The human will of Christ is life-loving too. It was normal and natural (κατὰ φύσιν) for Christ to love life and to hate death. Anastasius stressed that the human will of Christ was not afraid of death (was not φοβοθάνατον³, δειλιοθάνατον⁴), but hated it (was μισοθάνατον⁵) as something foreign to him⁶. Even more than he hated death, Christ loved life (was φιλόζωον).⁷ In order to substantiate this suggestion, Anastasius referred to the works of Basil of Caesarea and Cyril of Alexandria. However, no known work of either Basil or Cyril contains similar ideas. Only one relevant excerpt

¹ 'Κατὰ φύσιν μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἀγαπᾶν τὴν ζωὴν καὶ μισεῖν τὸν θάνατον· οὐ μάτην δὲ οὔτε ἀκαίρως φύσει ἢ φύσις ἢ ἀνθρωπίνη φιλόζωός ἐστι καὶ μισοθάνατος, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀπαρχῆς ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀφθαρτος γέγονεν. Εἰκότως οὖν ἀγαπᾷ τὴν ἀθανασίαν εἰς ἣν γέγονε, καὶ μισεῖ τὸν θάνατον εἰς ὃν οὐ γέγονε.' *Opera* 2 V⁴⁻¹⁰. In another passage Anastasius wrote: 'Φυσικὸν θέλημα ἀνθρώπου ἐστὶν ... τὸ φιλόζωον· πᾶς γὰρ ἄνθρωπος φύσει φιλεῖ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸ ὁρᾶν τὸ φῶς.' *ViaeDux* II 4⁶⁰⁻⁶².

² 'Φιλεῖ δὲ τὴν ζωὴν ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἀσκόπως, ἀλλὰ σημαίνουσα ἢ φύσις, ὅτι, ὅπερ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἶχεν ὅτε γέγονεν (ἦγουν τὴν ἀθανασίαν αὐτήν) ἀγαπᾷ καὶ ζητεῖ.' *ViaeDux* II 4⁶⁷⁻⁷⁰.

³ *Opera* 2 V¹¹⁻¹².

⁴ *Opera* 2 V²³.

⁵ *Opera* 2 V²⁴.

⁶ 'Ἐπειδὴ πᾶσα ἀθανασία καὶ ζωὴ μισητῶς καὶ ἐναντίως πρὸς τὸν θάνατον διάκειται' *Opera* 2 V¹⁸⁻²⁰.

⁷ *Opera* 2 V¹¹⁻¹².

from Basil's 'homily against Arians' occurs in the *florilegium* composed by Anastasius himself.¹

At the same time, Basil used the word φιλόζωον in a different context. Thus, in his *Exhortative homily on the Holy Baptism*, he, on the one hand, suggested that it is a natural property of man to avoid death. Basil called this property a natural love of life (τὸ φύσει φιλόζωον).² On the other hand, in his homily *On the forty martyrs of Sebastea*, he used the word in a rather negative sense of an excessive attachment to life.³ Thus, the soldier who left the lake in order to save his life was characterized as φιλόζωος.⁴ The same word was applied to the escaped soldier in the homily on the forty martyrs by Gregory of Nyssa.⁵ As for Cyril whom Anastasius mentioned, no similar passage can be found either in his surviving works or in the *florilegium* composed by Anastasius.

The issue of the love of life, as it was developed through the centuries until the era of Anastasius, is worthy of being considered more precisely. It had

¹ 'Τὸ φιλόζωον θέλημα εἶχεν ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου, ὡς κοινωνὸς οὔσα καὶ σύμβιος ψυχῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ Θεοῦ Λόγου ζωοποιοῦ παναθανάτου, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὥσπερ μεταλαβοῦσα τὸν τῆς ἀθανασίας πόθον.' *Opera* 2 IV 2¹⁶⁻¹⁹.

² *adBapt* PG 31, 441^c.

³ *inSebast* PG 31, 513^c.

⁴ *inSebast* PG 31, 520^c.

⁵ *inMart* ii PG 46, 781^a.

its roots in antiquity. Thus, Euripides spoke of the love of life¹ and applied to it an even stronger expression – ἔρως βίου. Mortals have this love inherent in their nature (ἔρως βροτοῖσιν ἔγκειται βίου), together with the fear of death (τοῦ θανεῖν δ' ἀπειρία πᾶς τις φοβεῖται). The dramatist spoke of this fear along with the fear of being deprived of sunlight. It is noteworthy that Anastasius also mentioned man's innate aspiration after the sunlight. The affection for life, for Euripides, contains a tragic contradiction, because men, who love life, are inevitably mortal and seek something unattainable. This tragic contradiction is hidden in the very phrase φιλόζωοι βροτοί – **mortals who love life**. Mortals have a foretaste of death in the myriads of misfortunes they face every day (ἔχοντες μυρίων ἄχθος κακῶν). To Aristotle, the word had a flavour not of an existential tragedy, but rather of moral impurity and degeneration. Love of life is something antithetical to generosity.² It was listed among the dubious virtues ascribed mainly to older people, such as being positive about nothing, having a lack of *energeia*, always 'thinking,' but 'knowing' nothing, being malicious, suspicious, mistrustful, and small-minded, desiring nothing great or uncommon, having a lack of generosity, being cowardly and unduly selfish, having an inclination to anticipate evil, living not

¹ 'Ὁ φιλόζωοι βροτοί, οἱ τὴν ἐπιστεῖχουσιν ἡμέραν ἰδεῖν ποθεῖτ' ἔχοντες μυρίων ἄχθος κακῶν. οὕτως ἔρως βροτοῖσιν ἔγκειται βίου· τὸ ζῆν γὰρ ἴσμεν, τοῦ θανεῖν δ' ἀπειρία πᾶς τις φοβεῖται φῶς λιπεῖν τὸδ' ἡλίου.' *Fragmenta* 816⁶⁻¹¹.

² 'Ἔστι δὲ μεγάλωψυχος οὐθ' ὁ τὸ ζῆν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος οὐθ' ὁ φιλόζωος.' *de Virt* 1250b³⁸⁻³⁹.

for the noble, but for the useful, being shameless rather than modest, having the loquacity and violent outbursts of anger, having slackened desires and being enslaved to the pursuit of gain, committing injustice due to vice, and finally being querulous and having neither wit nor fondness of laughter.¹ Chrysippus, a principal systematizer of the Stoic philosophy, understood love of life as an unreasonable desire (ἐπιθυμία ζωῆς ἄλογος).² Philo characterized it as a property of human nature. He, in particular, spoke of a life-loving nature (φιλόζωος φύσις).³ He also used the word in a negative sense, as an excessive affection for life.⁴ Epictetus ascribed to Xenophon an assertion that the nature is life-loving and worthy of admiration.⁵ Marcus Aurelius put love of life on the same scale as the fondness for embellishments. To him, men should take reasonable care of their bodies and must not love life or embellishments.⁶ To Dion Chrysostom, men normally love life very much and undertake whatever

¹ *Rhetorica* 1389b¹³-1390a²³.

² *frMoral* 397²⁶.

³ *deSpec* 2.206¹.

⁴ *deSacr* 32¹⁸; *Legatio* 369¹.

⁵ 'Θαυμαστή ἡ φύσις καί, ὡς φησιν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, φιλόζωος.' *Dissertationum* 23²⁻³.

⁶ 'Καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος ἐπιμελητικὸν ἐμμέτρως, οὔτε ὡς ἂν τις φιλόζωος οὔτε πρὸς καλλωπισμὸν.' *Τὰ εἰς ἑαυτὸν* 1.16.5⁴⁻⁶.

they can to postpone death.¹ Simultaneously, he used the word in a negative sense. A soul, which loves life, is the opposite of a good soul.²

Among the Christian authors, Hermas ascribed the love of life to trees. In particular, he spoke of the willow as a life-loving tree.³ He mentioned the willow's tenacity of life in the context of an allegory of repentance. The withered branches of the willow, which return to life and blossom after having been watered, are like sinners that repent and spiritually resuscitate.⁴ Therefore, love of life is likened here to the capacity and willingness to repent. The approach of Hermas, however, was not common to the early Christian tradition, which tended to consider love of life as a moral defect that impeded Christians from giving their lives to Christ and becoming martyrs. Thus, Cornelius of Rome (251-253) in his letter to Fabius of Antioch mentioned Novatian who during the persecutions denied that he was a presbyter, because he was affected by a love

¹ 'Τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους οὕτως μὲν πάνυ φιλοζῶους ὄντας, τοσαῦτα δὲ μηχανωμένους πρὸς ἀναβολὴν τοῦ θανάτου.' *Orationes* 6.23¹⁻².

² *Orationes* 32.50³.

³ 'Τὸ δένδρον τοῦτο ἰτέα ἐστὶν καὶ φιλόζων τὸ γένος.' *Pastor* 68.7².

⁴ 'The Shepherd said to me, 'Let us take the branches of all these and plant them, and see if any of them will live.' I said to him, 'Sir, how can these withered branches live?' He answered, and said, 'This tree is a willow, and of a kind that is very tenacious of life. If, therefore, the branches be planted, and receive a little moisture, many of them will live ...

After the Shepherd had examined the branches of them all, he said to me, 'I told you that this tree was tenacious of life. You see,' he continued, 'how many repented and were saved.' 'I see, sir,' I replied. 'That you may behold,' he added, 'the great mercy of the Lord, that it is great and glorious, and that He has given His Spirit to those who are worthy of repentance.' *Pastor*, *Similitude* 8th, ch. I-VI.

of life.¹ Origen condemned the love of life in the same context: ‘We say that it is good not to love life.’² In his *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, he explained that this sort of love is similar to the fondness for the body. These two loves (of the life and the body) are the ties that bind a man to the world. The martyrs, however, break these ties, being moved by the love of God.³ Origen distinguished between two kinds of life. One is given by God and the other originates from matter. The former is good and worthy of seeking, whereas the latter is bad.⁴ Clement of Alexandria followed the same line. He accused those who blamed the martyrs for their readiness to die. Such ‘heretics,’ as Clement called them, believe that the martyrs commit suicide. However, they think so because they have ‘the impious and cowardly love of life.’⁵ In another passage, Clement linked the love

¹ ‘Ο διὰ δειλίαν καὶ φιλοζωΐαν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς διώξεως πρεσβύτερον εἶναι ἑαυτὸν ἀρνησάμενος.’ Eusebius, *EccHist* 6.43.16²⁻³.

² ‘Ἀγαθὸν δ’ εἶναί φαμεν καὶ τὸ μὴ φιλοζωεῖν.’ *contCelsus* 8.54⁴⁵⁻⁴⁶.

³ ‘Ὡς περ οἱ βασάνους καὶ πόνους ὑπομείναντες τῶν μὴ ἐν τούτοις ἐξητασμένων λαμπροτέραν ἐπεδείξαντο τὴν ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ ἀρετὴν, οὕτως οἱ πρὸς τῷ φιλοσωματεῖν καὶ φιλοζωεῖν καὶ τοὺς τοσοῦτους κοσμικοὺς δεσμοὺς διακόψαντες καὶ διαρρήξαντες μεγάλη τῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀγάπῃ χρησάμενοι καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνειληφότες τὸν ζῶντα τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον καὶ ἐνεργῇ καὶ τομώτερον “ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον” δεδύνηνται τοὺς τοσοῦτους διακόψαντες δεσμοὺς καὶ κατασκευάσαντες ἑαυτοῖς πτέρυγας ὥς περ ἀετὸς ἐπιστρέψαι “εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ προεστηκότος” ἑαυτῶν.’ *adMart* 15⁶⁻¹⁴; see also *inJerem* 17.6²⁵; *inMatt* 12.26⁶.

⁴ With the reference to Ps 20, 5 (‘He asked you for life; and gave it to him – length of days forever and ever’), Origen wrote: ‘Ζήτησον εἰ ἡ μὲν ἔστιν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ δεδομένη ζωὴ, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης ἐρχομένη, καὶ σύγκρινον τό: “Ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς,” τῷ: “Ἐξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ ψυχὴν ζῶσαν.” Ζωὴν ἠτήσατό σε, τὸν πρὸ τῆς νόσου βίον αὐτοῦ.’ At the same time, he stated: ‘Ο βασιλεὺς ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἠτήσατο τὴν ζωὴν ἀπὸ Κυρίου, καὶ εἴληφεν. Ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἔστιν ἡ ζωὴ, ὁ εἰπὼν: “Ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ζωὴ.” Καὶ τάχα ὁ δόξας φιλοζωεῖν Ἐζεκίας ἐκείνην ἤθελε τὴν ζωὴν, ἣν συμβολικῶς ἐφιλοζῶει.’ *inPs* 12.124922-33.

⁵ ‘Τινὲς δὲ τῶν αἵρετικῶν τοῦ κυρίου παρακηκοότες ἀσεβῶς ἅμα καὶ δειλῶς φιλοζωοῦσι μαρτυρίαν λέγοντες ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὴν τοῦ ὄντος ὄντος γνῶσιν θεοῦ, ὅπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς

of life to love of the self: 'How you can love yourself, when you do not love life?'¹ He opposed the love of the self to the love of God and the neighbour, and the love of life to the love of wisdom: 'How you can love God and the neighbour, if you do not love wisdom?'² John Chrysostom applied in his writings all the range of meanings of the word analysed before. Thus, the love of life meant for him, first, a natural property of the human soul.³ It also implied an excessive attachment to life.⁴ He also used the word as a synonym for love of the body, which signifies an animosity to the cross of Christ.⁵

In the philosophical and Christian traditions, therefore, there were two major trends in considering the love of life. According to one, this love was regarded as a natural faculty of men and was therefore blameless. According to the other, it was regarded as vicious, immoral, and shameful. The Dyothelites preferred to follow the former trend and regarded the fear of Christ as a blameless manifestation of his natural human will. The Monothelites, on the contrary, followed the latter trend and refused to concede that Christ had a real

ὁμολογοῦμεν, φονέα δὲ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ αὐθέντην τὸν διὰ θανάτου ὁμολογήσαντα.' *Stromata* 4.4.16.3¹⁻⁵.

¹ 'Πῶς δὲ σεαυτὸν ἀγαπᾷς, εἰ μὴ φιλοζωεῖς;' *Paedagogus* 3.11.78.1⁶⁻⁷.

² 'Πῶς δὲ ἔτι ἀγαπᾷς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου μὴ φιλοσοφῶν;' *Paedagogus* 3.11.78.1⁵⁻⁶.

³ 'Ἐχει μὲν γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ κατὰ φύσιν τὸ φιλόζωνον.' *in Ioan* 59.462¹⁻².

⁴ 'Ὅταν οὖν χρεῖα καλῇ, καὶ ταύτην κατάρθου. Εἰ δὲ φιλοζωεῖς, καὶ κελευόμενος καταθεῖναι ἀντιλέγεις, οὐκέτι πιστὸς οἰκονόμος εἶ.' *in Cor* 61.85¹⁻³; see also *in Thes* I 62.448⁶.

⁵ 'Ἐὰν μὴ τις ἄρῃ τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀκολουθήσῃ μοι· τουτέστιν, ἐὰν μὴ τις ἡ παρεσκευασμένος πρὸς θάνατον. Οὗτοι δὲ ἀγενεῖς ὄντες καὶ φιλόζωοι καὶ φιλοσώματοι, ἐχθροὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τυγχάνουσι.' *in Philip* 62.277¹⁸⁻²².

fear which would mean for them a vicious addiction to life. On this and other points, Anastasius was fully in accord with the preceding Dyenergist-Dyothelite tradition and seems to have borrowed ready arguments from his predecessors. He developed these arguments further in a creative way in order to make them more comprehensible to his audience. At the same time, he approached some issues in his own way, especially the issue of the 'theandric *energeia*.' He made of this approach a convincing argument in a support of two *energeiai* in Christ. Therefore, his difference with the mainstream Dyothelite tradition was methodological rather than essential.

5.4. THE MONOTHELITISM OF THE MARONITES

During the sixteenth session of the sixth ecumenical Council held on the 9th of August 681, a central subject of discussion was the confession of faith submitted by a certain Constantine, a Syrian priest from Apamea. The project he submitted to the Council was the establishment of peace and reconciliation between the Monothelite and Dyothelite parties.¹

Constantine based his confession on the δύο φύσεις formula. He also recognized two properties of the natures. Although he hesitated to profess two *energeiai*, he accepted them conditionally: 'I say that there are two natures, as

¹ 'Ἡθέλησά γὰρ ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν σύνοδον καὶ παρακαλέσθαι, ἵνα γένεται εἰρήνη, ἵνα τί ποτε ἐνωτικὸν γένεται εἰς μέσον, καὶ μὴδὲ ἐκεῖνοι θλίβωνται μὴδὲ ἐκεῖνοι, τοῦτέστιν οἱ λέγοντες ἐν θέλημα καὶ οἱ λέγοντες δύο θελήματα.' ACO₂ II² 696¹⁻³.

was declared at Chalcedon, and two properties. Also I do not reject (two) *energeiai*, if you say that they are the properties.¹ Having cleared up these points, Constantine confessed a single will of Christ, which belongs to his divine person and is shared with the Father and the Holy Spirit:

I speak about one will of the *prosopon* (other variant: of the hypostasis) of God Logos. And if you want me to say the truth about what the hypostasis is – I do not know. But I say that the will belongs to the *prosopon* of God, the Logos after the incarnation. For the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are a single will.²

Although Constantine professed a single will in Christ, he recognized that the human nature of Christ had its own natural will.³ Christ, according to his human will, wanted to eat, drink, sleep, walk *etc.* After the resurrection, however, when he had no such natural needs anymore, he abandoned his human will together ‘with the blood and the flesh.’ Thus, Christ had his human will not always, but only until his death on the cross.⁴ In effect, Constantine introduced a gradation of the wills. On the one hand, he spoke about the will of the divine person of Christ. This will was the only real one, owing to the fact of its belonging to the person of Christ. It remained with Christ forever. On the other hand, he recognized an auxiliary human will, which belonged to the

¹ ‘Εγὼ δύο φύσεις λέγω, ὥσπερ ἐρρέθη ἐν Χαλκηδόνι, καὶ δύο ιδιώματα, καὶ περὶ ἐνεργείας μάχην οὐκ ἔχω, ἐὰν ὡς ιδιώματα λέγετε αὐτά.’ ACO₂ II² 696¹⁹⁻²⁰.

² ACO₂ II² 696²⁰⁻²³.

³ ACO₂ II² 698⁷⁻⁹.

⁴ ACO₂ II² 698⁹⁻²¹.

nature and was therefore ephemeral. It vanished together with the flesh and blood after Christ's resurrection.

The project presented by Constantine was a syncretic system composed of the elements of Chalcedonianism, Dyenergism, Monothelitism, and finally of his views concerning the resurrection of Christ, which were characterized by the Fathers of the Council as Manichaeism. It is easy to identify the source of Constantine's Dyenergism: it was apparently the Council itself. Constantine accepted two *energeiai* in Christ in order to gain the confidence of the Council regarding his conception of the single will. However, it is not so easy to answer the question, what sort of Monothelitism did Constantine implement. For this purpose, we should investigate the doctrinal identity of the Christian communities in the region from which Constantine came.

The region of Apamea and more widely of *Syria Secunda*¹ was spiritually and intellectually dominated by the monastery of St Maron (Bêth Maron).² As early as in the first half of the sixth century, some monasteries of the region

¹ Syria as a part of the Roman Empire (since BC 64-63) was divided by Septimius Severus (193-211) in two regions: *Syria Coele* and *Syria Phoenice*. By the beginning of the fifth century, it was divided again into at least five provinces. *Syria Coele* was split into *Syria I* with the capital in Antioch, *Syria II* with the capital in Apamea, and *Syria III* called Euphrates with the capital in Hierapolis. *Syria Phoenice* was divided into Maritime Phoenicia with the capital at Tyre and Lebanese Phoenicia with the capital at Damascus.

² The monastery was found in the time of the Council of Chalcedon. As for the place where it was situated, the modern scholarship cannot locate it with precision. See Harald Suermann. *Die Gründungsgeschichte Der Maronitischen Kirche, Orientalia Biblica Et Christiana, Bd. 10*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998; a thesis at the University of Athens: G. B. Malouf, 'Η ιστορία και η θεολογία των Μαρωνίτων και η σχέση τους με την Ορθόδοξη Εκκλησία της Αντιόχειας.' 2001: 49-54.

were even under the juridical control of Bêth Maron, at least for a period.¹ The monastery also had a significant influence over the local Christian communities, which were called 'Maronite.'² They shared the same faith and jurisdictional identity. Therefore, in order to determine the beliefs of the 'Maronite' communities of *Syria Secunda*, from which Constantine of Apamea originated, it is necessary to establish the identity of the Monastery of St Maron.

Bêth Maron had belonged, since at least 629, to the party of the Chalcedonians. This fact is known from the descriptions of Heraclius' actions towards ecclesiastic reconciliation, when the Emperor stayed for some time in *Syria Secunda*. The descriptions were provided by two Jacobite chronographers: Michael the Syrian (1166-1199) and Bar Hebraeus (Bar Ebraja, George Abu'l-Farag, 1225-1286). Both of them were based on the lost *Annals* of Dionysius of Tell-Mahrē, the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch (818-845). Bar Hebraeus, whose interpretation of Dionysius' text is more accurate than that of Michael³, expounded the course of events as follows:

¹ Thus, at the Council in Constantinople 536, the apocrisary of the monastery of St Maron monk Paul put his signature before the signatures of the representatives of other monasteries in *Syria Secunda* (Mansi 8, 911-912; see also Mansi 8, 881, 929, 940, and 953.) Twice throughout the acts, the monastery appears to keep a control over the other monasteries of the region: 'Paul ... apocrisary of the monastery of the Blessed Maron, the monastery which governs the holy monastery of Syria II.' Mansi 8, 995, 1022.

² See Arthur Vööbus. *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient: A Contribution to the History of Culture in the near East, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium; Vol.197. Subsidia; T.17.* Louvain: CorpusSCO, 1960, 251.

³ See Suermann, *Die Gründungsgeschichte* 190.

When the Emperor went to Mabbough (Hierapolis), he was approached by Patriarch Mar Athanasius and twelve bishops, from whom he asked a declaration of faith which they gave to him. After having read it, the Emperor spoke to them with praise. But he pressed them hard to accept the Council of Chalcedon. Since they would not consent, Heraclius was irritated and sent out a decree to the whole Empire: 'Anyone who will not adhere (to the Council), will have his nose and ears cut off and his house pillaged.' And so many converted. The monks of Bêth Maron, of Mabbough and of Emesa showed their wickedness and pillaged a number of churches and monasteries. Our people complained to Heraclius, who did not answer them.¹

The majority of scholars believe that the Maronites were Chalcedonians before Heraclius started his campaign.² This is implied, in particular, by the description by Bar Hebraeus, who made a clear distinction between two different Christian groups: the monks of Bêth Maron, Mabbough, and Emesa and the Jacobites, whether they were converted to Chalcedonianism or retained their Monophysite belief. Some scholars, however, have suggested that initially the Maronites were non-Chalcedonian and later, under the pressure of the Emperor Heraclius, accepted the fourth ecumenical Council.³ This suggestion, however, can be disproved by some other testimonies, among which is the

¹ J. B. Abbeloos and Joseph Lamy Thomas. *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum Quod E Codice Musei Britannici Descriptum Conjuncta Opera* Ed. Lovanii: C. Peeters, 1872. I 272-274.

² See François Nau. 'Les Maronites inquisiteurs de la Foi Catholique du VI^e au VII^e siècle.' *Bulletin de l'Association de S. Louis des Maronites*, no. 97 (1903), 343-344; S. Vailhé. 'L'Église maronite du Ve au IX^e siècle.' *Echos d'Orient*, no. 9 (1906), 260; Henri Leclercq. 'Maron.' *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* 10, p. 1: 2188-202; Suermann, *Die Gründungsgeschichte* 190. The Maronite historians support this idea as well (see, for instance, Pierre Dib and Seely J. Beggiani. *History of the Maronite Church*. Beirut: Imprimerie catholique, 1971, 9-13).

³ See Matti Moosa. *The Maronites in History*. 1st ed. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1986, 33; M. Morony, 'Syria Under the Persians 610-629.' *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilad Al-Sham During the Early Islamic Period up to 40 A.H./640 A.D: The Fourth International Conference on the History of Bilad Al-Sham*. (Adnan Bakhit Muhammad Amman ed.): University of Jordan, 1987, 87-95, esp. 94; Βασίλειος Στεφανίδης. *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία: Από αρχής μέχρι σήμερον*, 5^η έκδ. Athens, 1990, 419.

information provided by the Melkite Patriarch of Alexandria Eutychius.¹ He reported that Heraclius, during his stay in *Syria Secunda*, paid a visit to the monastery of St Maron. After having been faced with hostility by the Monophysites of Homs, the Emperor found a warm welcome from the Maronites.² Although no other source mentions this fact, modern scholarship accepts that the information is correct.³ Moreover, it is possible to suggest that this visit of Heraclius to the monastery was not the only one.⁴ Considering all this, we may conclude that the Maronites were Chalcedonians and supporters of Heraclius. As a result, they without hesitation adopted the new doctrinal project of the Emperor and became Monothelites. Of course, they did not consider Monothelitism as a new doctrine, but adopted it as Catholic Orthodoxy. Soon the majority of the Chalcedonian communities of *Syria Secunda* followed the monastery. Although the role of Bêth Maron in the promotion of

¹ Eutychius was born in 877 in Cairo. His Arab name was Sa'îd ibn Batriq. He was elected a Melkite Patriarch of Alexandria in 933 and died in 940. His *Annals* are the world chronicles written in Arabic and describing the events up to 938. Editions: Louis Cheikho, Bernard Carra de Vaux, and Hab ib Zayyat. *Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. Scriptores Arabici; Ser. 3, V. 6-7*. Parisii: C. Poussielgue, 1906; Michael Breydy. *Das Annalenwerk Des Eutychios Von Alexandrien. Ausgewählte Geschichten Und Legenden Kompiliert Von Sa'id Ibn Batriq Um 935 A.D, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, V. 472*. Lovanii: E. Peeters, 1985. On account of Eutychius' life see Michel Breydy. *Études sur Sa'id ibn Batriq et ses sources*. Lovanii: E. Peeters, 1983; Suermann, *Die Gründungsgeschichte* 42-48.

² See *Annales* (Cheikho 7, 5); PG 111, 1088-1089.

³ See Walter Kaegi, Jr., in 'The Strategy of Heraclius,' *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilâd al Sham during The Early Islamic Period Up to 40 A.H./640 A.D. The Fourth International Conference On the History of Bilâd al-Sham* (English and French Papers, ed. by Muhammad Adnan Bakhit), Amman 1987, 104-115, esp. 106; see also Suermann, *Die Gründungsgeschichte* 194-195.

⁴ See Suermann, *Die Gründungsgeschichte* 195.

Monothelitism among the local (Maronite) communities was significant, it was not necessarily the only one. It is highly likely that the imperial propaganda forced the local communities to accept Monothelitism immediately. Bêth Maron, however, remained at the forefront of the promotion of Monothelitism.

There are some testimonies that the Monothelitism of the Maronite communities was a classical imperial one. For instance, Eutychius of Alexandria, while describing the history of the Monothelite controversy, characterized such main figures of the imperial Monothelitism as Cyrus of Alexandria, Macarius of Antioch, and Honorius of Rome as Maronites.¹ Also, some early Islamic texts identified Monothelites and Maronites.² As for the doctrinal content of the initial Maronite Monothelitism, one of the earliest testimonies concerning it, apart from that provided by Constantine of Apamea, was that of the Patriarch of Constantinople Germanus (715-730). According to Germanus, the Maronites accepted the fourth ecumenical Council, whereas they

¹ See *Annales* (Cheikho 7, 12-13. 27-28).

² There are three major testimonies about Monothelitism of the Maronites from the Muslim sources. The earliest is of Mas'ūdī (ca. 893-956) (*Maṣūūdī. Le livre de l'avertissement et de la revision. Traduction par B. Carra de Vaux*: Paris, 1896, 210-212). The second is of Qādī 'Abdalḡabbār who lived three quarters of century later (d. 1025) and mentioned the Maronites in his sum of the Muslim theology ('Abdalḡabbār b. Aḡmad, al-Qādī, al-muḡnī fi abwāb at-tauḡīd wa l-'adl (ed. 'Abdalḡalīm Muḡmūd, Sulaimān Dunyā, Muḡammad Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī, Abū l-Wafā' al-Ḡanīmī, Maḡmūd Muḡammad al-Ḥudairī) V. *al-firaq ḡair al-islāmīya* (ed. Maḡmūd Muḡammad al-Ḥudairī), Cairo 1958, 83-85. 146). Finally, the Arab historian of the 15th century Al-Maqrīsī (d. 1442), while describing the historical topography of Egypt (Al-Maqrīsī, Taqī ad-Dīn Abūl-'Abbās Aḡmad ibn 'Alī, k. *al-mawā'iz wa l-i'tibār bi dīkri al-ḡiṭat wa l-ātār*, Imprimerie de Bulaq 1270/1853), characterized the Maronites as those who believe in two natures and one will of Christ.

rejected the fifth and sixth Councils.¹ Another Patriarch, Dionysius of Tell-Mahrē, described the situation in the region at the beginning of the eighth century.² However, his description can be applied to the end of the seventh century as well. Thus, he reported:

The monks of Bêth Maron and the bishop of this Monastery, and some others, did not accept this opinion (the two wills), but the majority of the people and their bishops did. How many anathemas (were delivered), how many fights up to the present cannot be enumerated or reckoned. In the discussions, the Chalcedonians of the party of Bêth Maron insulted the Maximites: 'You are Nestorians, the companions of the pagans and the Jews. You do not say that Christ is God, that He was born of the Virgin, that He suffered and was crucified in the flesh, but that He is an ordinary man, an individual person, abandoned by God, who feared and dreaded his death and cried: "My Father! If it be possible, would that the chalice pass from Me, nevertheless your will and not mine be done," as if one and another were the wills of the Father and the Son; that is, there would therefore be in Christ two wills separated and opposed, or even enemies, and battle one against the other.'³

¹ See *deHaeres* PG 94, 81.

² Dionysius gave an account of appearance and spreading of Monothelitism in Syria: 'Although we have already spoken, he says, of the heresy of Maximus and of the manner in which Constantinus (= Constantine Pogonatus) introduced it in the churches of the Romans, after it had been wiped out by his father, Constant, we ought now to take note of the schism which survived among them (= the Chalcedonians) in this year 727 regarding this heresy and the expression 'who has been crucified.' In the Roman territory, this opinion continues since the time of Constantinus, but in the regions of Syria, it was not admitted. It is being sown now by prisoners and captives and captives that the troops of Taiyaye (= Arabs) have led into and placed in Syria. No doubt, because of their esteem of the Empire of the Romans, those who have allowed themselves to be perverted by this opinion (= Dyothelitism) and accepted it were especially the bishops and the chiefs. One of them was Sergius, son of Mansour, who oppressed many of the faithful who were at Damascus and Emese. Not only did he make them remove the expression "who was crucified" from the *Trisagion*, but he drew also many of ours into his heresy. This heresy perverted also the Sees of Jerusalem, Antioch, Edessa and other towns, that the Chalcedonians had occupied since the time of Emperor Heraclius.' Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* IV (Chabot 457-458)/Dib, *History* 18. Some modern Maronite scholars have concluded from this passage that Monothelitism was introduced in Syria after 727 (see Dib, *History* 19). This conclusion, however, contradicts the rest of the witnesses about early Maronite Monothelitism, which were mentioned above.

³ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* IV (Chabot 458-459)/Dib, *History* 19.

The text contains a classical set of Monothelite beliefs: the refusal of the real fear of Christ and of the human will on the assumption that it would be contrary to God's will, as well as the accusations of Nestorianism against the 'Maximites.' Some Maronite historians, however, doubted that the early Maronite communities confessed the classical Monothelitism and ascribed to them a certain 'moral' Monothelitism.¹ Initially, such an interpretation was offered by the Maronite scholars of the seventeenth century, Stephan Duayhy (d. 1704)² and Faustus Naironus (d. 1711).³ Recently, a significant contribution to this conception was made by the Maronite bishop of Cairo, Pierre Dib.⁴ He developed his arguments from several medieval texts, as for example the Missal used by the Maronites in the eleventh century, which in particular contains the following passage:

The Merciful, who in Mary lived poorly
And, as a human, came from her womb humbly,
Has entered the world by miracle and marvellously,
In the union of two natures truly.
Having one person, He had one will doubly
With the properties of two natures indivisibly.
The natures remain in one hypostasis divinely
Recognized without separation or confusion.
By his Divine nature, He performed wonders divinely.
By his human nature, He endured suffering humanly.

¹ See Kamal Salibi. *Maronite Historians of Mediaeval Lebanon*, American University of Beirut. Publication of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Oriental Series; No. 34: Beirut, 1959, 17, 19-21.

² Stephan Duayhy. *Liber brevis explicationis de Maronitarum origine eorumque perpetua orthodoxia et salute ab omni haeresi et superstitione*. Edited by P. Fahed. 2 vols. Rome, 1974.

³ Faustus Naironus Antonius. *Dissertatio de origine, nomine, ac religione Maronitarum*. Romae: Per Zachariam Dominicum Acsamitek a Kronenfeld Boemum Pragensem, linguarum Orientalem typographum, 1679, 95-96.

⁴ Dib, *History* 19-25.

Paul has said: 'He has become like us entirely
Except sin, iniquity, impiety, truly.'¹

This text obviously contains a standard Monothelite formula: there is one will in Christ, which manifests itself in a twofold way, divine and human. Pierre Dib, in spite of this evidence, tried to interpret the passage as if it would imply a human will subjected to the divine will: 'Christ is at the same time both God and man; He possesses a double will, but this will is one in the sense that the human faculty is irrevocably submitted to the divine. Also, according to Maronite thinking, the unity of wills extended only to the moral sense, for the author (of the hymn) did not doubt the existence of a human will insofar as physical power was concerned ...'² The text also contains a traditional Monenergist assertion: 'one and the same acts divinely according to the divinity and humanly according to the mankind': 'By his divine nature, he performed wonders divinely. By his human nature, he endured suffering humanly.'³ Pierre Dib, however, considered the passage as a testimony to the Dyenergism of the Maronites⁴, which is an obvious exaggeration. Another late Maronite text which

¹ Ms. Vat. Syr. 396, fol. 24; transl. Dib, *History* 21.

² Dib, *History* 21.

³ Ms. Vat. Syr. 396, fol. 24; transl. Dib, *History* 21.

⁴ Dib, *History* 21.

is found in the *Book of Direction*¹ contains similar standard Monothelite formulas:

He (= Christ) has one person and two intellectual natures; He is God and man ... We do not believe however that He is two, two Christs, two persons, two wills and two *energeiai*. Far from it!...

The Melkites and Maronites are divided on the question of the will (in Christ), The Melkites profess two wills, the Maronites one; and each party brings forth arguments to support its thesis ... The Maronites say (to the Melkites): These two wills that you profess in Christ ought to be either conformed or opposed to each other. If they are conformed to each other one ends up with one will; but if they are opposed to each other, it follows that the divine nature wills what the human nature does not will, and the human nature wills what the divine nature does not will. If this is so, there would be division and opposition, resulting in two (persons in Christ); and therefore the (hypostatic) union would not exist anymore, the Trinity would become a quaternity and one would find himself reduced to the point of view of Nestorius and his opinions on Christ.²

This passage, in which the doctrine about two wills and *energeiai* is clearly condemned, contains one of the most popular Monothelite objections against the two wills: Christ cannot have two wills, because they would be necessarily opposite to each other. Pierre Dib, however, again interpreted this classical objection in a sense of 'moral' Monothelitism: 'The two natures, divine and human, are so closely united in Him that one is unable to imagine the least discord between them. Thus, the basis of the argumentation is always the absolute impossibility of an opposition between the two wills, without considering the specific question of a human will in Christ. The dogma of the two physical wills of the Saviour is found in an implicit state, as it had been

¹ Known also as *Book of the Law* or *Book of Perfection* – a Maronite canonical collection translated from Syriac into Arabic in 1059. Published by Pierre Fahed in Aleppo in 1935.

² See Dib, *History* 22.

among other Chalcedonians before the Monothelite quarrels. The human will in Christ would not be denied, since Christ possessed our whole nature, except sin. What is denied is the possibility of a conflict in Jesus Christ opposing the human will to the divine will, for if the two wills "are conformed to each other, one ends up with one will." In other words, the two wills are so united that one would not notice an exterior distinction between them.¹ According to the scholar, the Maronites of the passage rejected two opposite wills, but implied the existence of two accorded wills. However, there is no evidence in the text that such accorded wills are implied. The two wills are rejected, because they are *a priori* opposite to each other. Therefore, the passages mentioned above represent the classical Monothelitism condemned at the sixth ecumenical Council. If they are examples of a certain 'moral' Monothelitism, then the Monothelitism condemned at the Councils 649 and 680/681 must be interpreted as 'moral' as well. Indeed, Pierre Dib attributed to the 'moral' Monothelitism the distinction between two wills, though there is only one text of those he quoted (the Missal of the eleventh century), according to which Christ 'had one will doubly.' But both Severan and imperial Monothelitism admitted a duality of the single will of Christ², which did not prevent their condemnation by the

¹ Dib, *History* 23.

² As it was shown, Severus admitted certain duality of the single will in Christ. In particular, he accepted two wills in man who he often used as an analogy of the unity of Christ. He attributed one will to the flesh and the other to the soul. Their coexistence, however, did not split to him the single human nature in two parts; see *contGram* III (CSCO 102) 132³¹-133⁷. As for the imperial Monothelites, Pyrrhus in the disputation with Maximus accepted in Christ a will

Dyothelite Councils. On top of that, neither in the seventh nor in the eleventh centuries was any distinction reported between a 'moral' and a 'standard' Monothelitism.

As for the case of Constantine of Apamea, Pierre Dib asserted that his Monothelitism was his personal opinion which he inherited not from the Maronites, but from Macarius of Antioch. In defence of this point, the scholar produced the following arguments. Firstly, Constantine did not claim in his support the authority of the ecclesiastical leaders of Apamea, but the authority of Macarius. Secondly, if the Fathers of the Council knew of Monothelitism in Syria, they would have asked Constantine about the matter.¹ These arguments, however, do not sound sufficient to suggest that Constantine represented either himself or Macarius. The testimonies that the Maronites at the time of the Council of 680/681 were Monothelites are stronger.

The point of the 'moral' Monothelitism promoted by the Maronite scholars recently found support from the Italian scholar Filippo Carcione.² He proposed an original classification of different kinds of Monothelitism and

composed of two natural wills: "Ὡςπερ ἐκ τῶν δύο φύσεων ἐν τι σύνθετον λέγομεν, οὕτω καὶ ἐκ τῶν δύο φυσικῶν θελημάτων ἐν τι σύνθετον λέγειν." *Disputatio* 296. In addition, it was reported in the same text of *Disputatio* that some of the Monothelites were ready to accept the human will of Christ on the condition it is adopted according to the σχετική οἰκείωσις or the οἰκείωσις ἐν ψηλῇ σχέσει (*Disputatio* 304^b, 305^a).

¹ Dib, *History* 17.

² Filippo Carcione, *La genesi storico-teologica del monotelismo maronita: note per una lettura ortodossa della tradizione cristologica maronita*. Roma: Unitor, 1990.

distinguished in particular between a 'real' and an 'apparent' Monothelitism. The former, to him, originated from the doctrines of Apollinarius and Eutychius, whereas the latter – *di marca cirilliana*¹ – was promoted by the followers of Cyril of Alexandria² The *monotelismo reale*, on the one hand, was present in the doctrines which confessed a single nature of Christ.³ The 'apparent' or *ipostatico*⁴ Monothelitism, on the other hand, can be found in the dogmatic system of Severus. This sort of Monothelitism, according to the scholar, was confessed and promoted by Sergius of Constantinople.⁵ Carcione also identified a distinctive subdivision of Monothelitism in the teachings of the Aphthartodocetes and Agnoetes.⁶ The Monothelitism of the Maronites, to him, was of a very different kind. It originated from Antiochian Christology and was cognate with the Monothelitism of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

¹ Carcione, *La genesi* 31.

² 'Sicché, sin dal IV-VI secolo erano andate determinandosi nella cristianità, accanto ad un'ortodossia fermamente duotelita avente nella cristologia di papa Leone Magno la sua più chiara espressione, una corrente *realmente* monotelita, figlia naturale dell'apollinarismo e del monofisismo eutichiano, ed una corrente solo *apparentemente* monotelita, seguita soprattutto da quegli ambienti alessandrini che erano i più genuini custodi della fede di Cirillo (dove si guardava esclusivamente al soggetto agente in modo da attribuire *l'operari* unicamente alla persona di Cristo, prescindendo dalle sue nature).' Carcione, *La genesi* 23.

³ 'Dal punto di vista storico, infatti, il *monotelismo reale* deriva dall'affermazione dell'unicità di natura nella persona del Cristo.' Carcione, *La genesi* 26.

⁴ See Filippo Carcione. *Sergio di Costantinopoli ed Onorio I nella controversia monotelita del VII secolo: Alcuni chiarimenti sulla loro dottrina e sul loro ruolo nella vicenda, Ecclesia Mater*; 4. Roma: Pontificia Università Lateranense, Istituto di Scienze Religiose, 1985, 27; *La genesi* 31.

⁵ See Filippo Carcione. 'Enérgeia, Thélema e Theokínetos nella lettera di Sergio, patriarca di Costantinopoli, a papa Onorio Primo.' *Orientalia christiana periodica* 51 (1985): 263-276; *La genesi* 31.

⁶ See F. Carcione, *Sergio di Costantinopoli* 29-30; *La genesi* 31.

The scholar is right when he distinguishes between Monothelitisms (though in the current case it would be more correct to speak about Monenergisms) of Apollinarius, Antiochian theologians, Aphthartodocetes, Agnoetes, Severans, and Maronites. At the same time, he makes some mistakes in their identification. Firstly, he confuses Severan and the imperial Monothelitism represented and promoted by Sergius. As shown above, the former was Monophysite and the latter was based on the Chalcedonian dogma. Secondly, he wrongly identifies Antiochian Monothelitism and the Monothelitism of the Maronites and considers both of them as a dubious 'moral' Monothelitism.

Finally, I want to mention briefly the opinion of the Russian scholar Basil Lourié. He correctly distinguishes 'entre la doctrine du monothélisme "classique" et celle des sévériens de la Syrie de la fin du VI^e siècle.'¹ Simultaneously, he attributes the Monothelitism of Constantine to the Severan tradition, which is, as has been shown, incorrect.

Maronite Monothelitism, then, was identical with imperial Monothelitism. Therefore, the Monothelite confession submitted by Constantine of Apamea to the sixth ecumenical Council was based on the Monothelitism of the Syrian Chalcedonians. In its turn, it was different from the Monothelitisms of the Apollinarian, Antiochian, and Severan tradition.

¹ Basile Lourié. 'Un autre monothélisme: le cas de Constantin d'Apamee au VI^e concile oecuménique.' *Studia Patristica* 29 (1997), 291, n. 4.

CONCLUSION

Monenergism-Monothelitism and Dyenergism-Dyothelitism constituted two complex systems of beliefs. Each of the two parties had its own interpretation, not only of the notions of *energeiai* and wills, but also those of natural properties, natures, and hypostasis. At the same time, they had a common background, that of neo-Chalcedonianism. Neither of the theological systems was entirely consistent. In particular, Monenergism-Monothelitism, on the one hand, had fluctuating opinions concerning the relations of the single *energeia* and will with the divine nature of Christ and his hypostasis. The Dyenergists-Dythelites, on the other hand, were not always constant concerning the character of the theandric *energeia*. Some of them believed that all the *energeiai* of Christ were theandric, whereas some insisted that there were also purely divine and purely human activities.

The Monenergist-Monothelite party failed to produce remarkable theologians, who would find original and persuasive approaches in the defence of their doctrine. Perhaps the only exceptions here were Theodore of Pharan at the very beginning of the controversy, especially if it is true that he was identical with Theodore of Raithu, and Macarius of Antioch at the very end of the controversy. However, it is difficult to evaluate properly their theological originality since most of their works are lost. The Dyenergist-Dyothelite party was luckier in this regard and produced a pleiad of remarkable theologians, the most prominent being Maximus the Confessor. His theology constituted an integral part of Dyenergist-Dyothelite polemics, which in turn was a result of

efforts by many theologians. In particular, his theology is astonishingly close to that of the Lateran Council, and this is a strong argument in support of the theory of R. Riedinger that to Maximus and probably to the circle of his disciples the real authorship of the script of the Council should be ascribed. Simultaneously, Maximus inherited to a large extent the ideas of his predecessors, primarily those of his spiritual father, Sophronius of Jerusalem.

Not all the ideas of Maximus and other theologians were reflected in the acts and decisions of the Councils of Lateran and Constantinople, but only those related strictly to the Christological problems that disquieted the Church in the Empire. The Fathers of the Councils, in selecting their arguments and employing various theological conceptions, followed the principle which I would call the principle of sufficiency *i.e.*, they preferred to apply those arguments which were necessary and sufficient to prove their points and to refute their opponents. It might seem surprising that the two Councils hardly paid attention to the Apollinarian, 'Antiochian,' or 'Alexandrian' Monenergism *per se*, and referred to them only when they wanted to show their similarity with the Chalcedonian Monenergism-Monothelitism. In addition, they neglected the Maronite Monothelitism, regardless of the fact that they inquired into the case of its representative Constantine of Apamea. I think all this can also be explained primarily by the principle of sufficiency of arguments applied by the Councils. The Councils did not enter into controversy with either Apollinarian, or 'Antiochian,' 'Alexandrian' and Chalcedonian Maronite

Monenergisms-Monothelitisms, because neither of them endangered the inter-ecclesiastic situation, at least within the boundaries of the Empire.

The controversy was one of the greatest challenges ever encountered by the Christological tradition of the Church. One would agree with this assertion only if one takes into consideration that it lasted almost a century, caused the convocation of two Councils important for the history of the Church, of which one was Ecumenical, and produced a pleiad of great theologians, who normally emerge when the Church has really a need of them. The disputes, however, immensely enriched the theological tradition of the Church with a more profound understanding of such principal 'ontological' notions as activity and will, in application both to Christology and to Anthropology. Also, some aspects of the 'traditional' notions of hypostasis, nature, and property were more precisely determined, given that activity and will are closely related to them. Although the controversy concluded the era of Christological disputes, its theological achievements were largely referred to during the theological debates in later periods, particularly during the controversy between the 'hesychasts' and 'Barlaamites' in the fourteenth century, when the issue of the divine *energeiai* and their relation to the divine essence was disputed.

The present thesis is in no way exhaustive. The restrictions imposed on its size did not allow me to touch on some important questions, such as the genesis and development of Dyenergism-Dyothelitism in the period before the seventh century and its representation in the works of John of Damascus. This,

however, could be a good reason that the research be continued, probably providing corrections to the conclusions of this thesis, as well as developing them further.

Finally, I want to express my hope that the present work could make a contribution to a further development of the interconfessional dialogue with the Eastern non-Chalcedonian Churches. Regrettably, the issue of *energeiai* and wills in Christ is often underestimated during interconfessional discussions. In result, the participants of the dialogues, on the one hand, often achieve a mutual understanding in many points related to Christology, but, on the other, remain unaware about the tradition of their counterparts as it regards the issue of *energeia* and will. I hope that the situation will change in the future and a mutual understanding of this issue will be successfully achieved.

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